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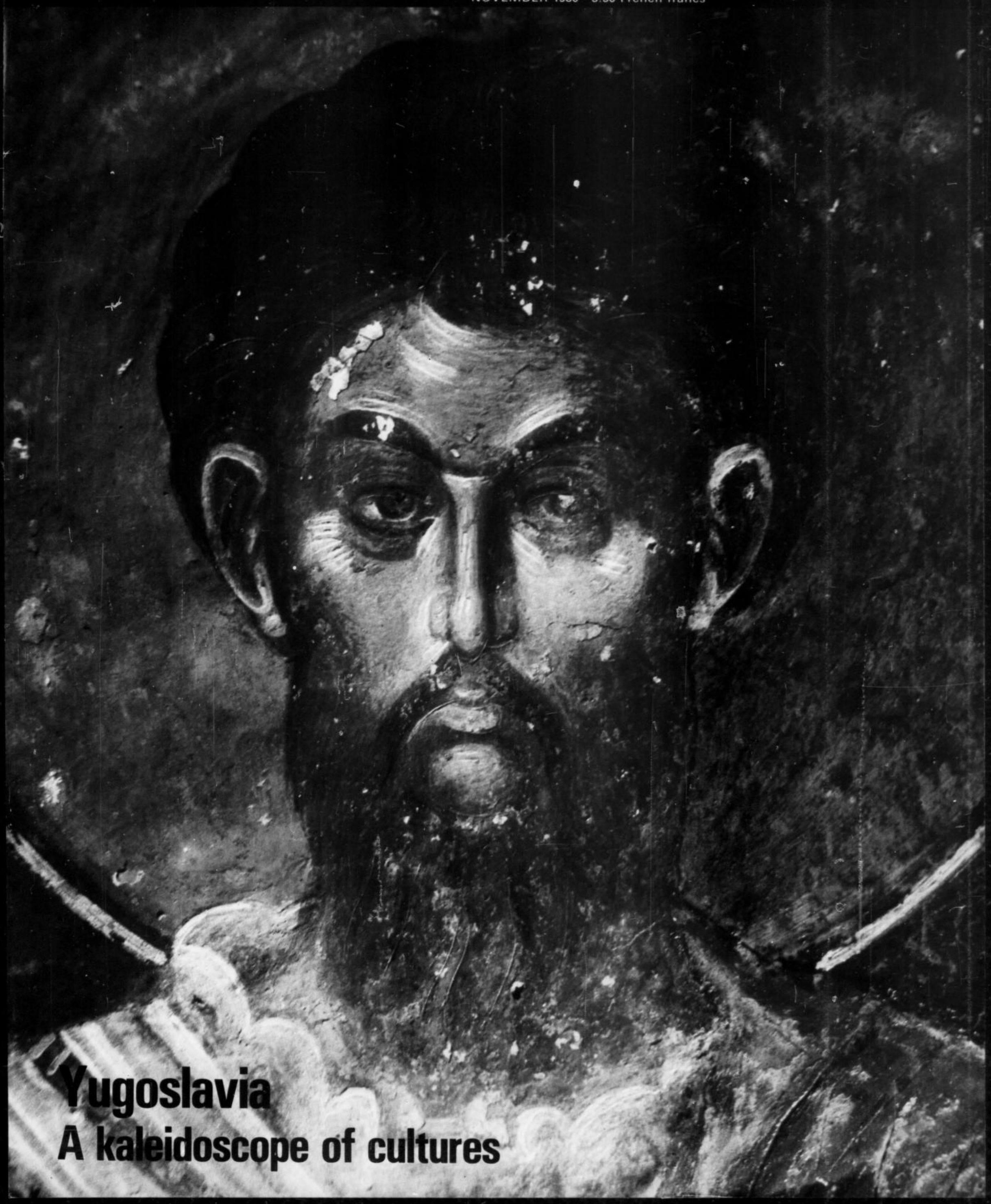

Yugoslavia
A kaleidoscope of cultures

TREASURES
OF
WORLD ART

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Italy

St. Benedict, patron saint of Europe

St. Benedict of Nursia (about 480-547) as depicted by the Italian Renaissance painter Piero della Francesca. In this detail from the altarpiece of the Virgin of the Misericordia (about 1450-1460) at Borgo San Sepolcro in Italy, the founder of the Benedictine religious Order is shown holding rods and staff, the insignia of his authority. The Rule, or set of regulations governing monastic life, which St. Benedict formulated, divides the day between prayer, manual work and the study of the scriptures. It was adopted by monasteries throughout medieval Europe, exercising a strong civilizing influence. In 1964 St. Benedict was proclaimed "patron saint of all Europe" by Pope Paul VI, and this year a number of initiatives have marked the 1500th anniversary of his birth.

Photo © Scala, Florence

The Unesco Courier

A window open on the world

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Cover

The medieval frescoes in the church of St. Andrew on the Traska river near Skopje are among the many cultural treasures that modern Yugoslavia has inherited from the tumultuous past (see also article overleaf). They were executed in the late 14th century by Jovan Zograf, who was not only a famous painter of his time but a metropolitan (archbishop) of the church. Magnificent portrait head of St. Andrew on our cover is a detail from the frescoes which, like the church itself, is still in a good state of preservation.

Photo © Arsenije Jovanovic, Belgrade

YUGOSLAVIA : A KALEI

I. The tides of history

by Milan Prelog

THE visitor to Yugoslavia is immediately overwhelmed by the extraordinary variety of the country's artistic heritage. In fact its territory has been criss-crossed down the centuries by so many political and cultural boundaries, divided into so many States and shared between so many different languages and religions that it would be more appropriate to speak of several heritages.

Every work, even if its beauty is timeless, manifestly belongs to a particular form of society or a particular tradition among the many which have flourished in the area. Often a work is evidence of a victory or a defeat, symbolizing either an acceptance or a rejection. Highly original variants of culture and civilization have developed in these lands, building on the ruins of the past, and sometimes alternating with one another.

In each case, the relationship between native and foreign influence was not only expressed in intellectual terms but reflected the struggle waged by peoples to defend and preserve their ways of life, sometimes even their existence. Seen in this context the phenomenon of "backwardness" in the development of artistic and literary forms, the debate between traditionalism and modernism and the question of provincialism are basic to an understanding and appraisal of historical evidence.

Art historians faced with the geographical and cultural complexities of this area of Europe have tended to oversimplify, dividing it into two major spheres of influence: an eastern zone where Byzantine Christianity dominated, and a western one where the main influence was the Church of Rome. And because the boundaries drawn between the zones were generally based on ideological assumptions rather than a serious analysis of the monuments themselves, scholars regarded them as watertight compartments, refusing to acknowledge the existence of mutual influences between regions, in particular between the Adriatic coastal area and the hinterland.

Such divisions made it impossible to appraise the importance of many works which did not conform to the simplistic definitions of "eastern" or "western".

The architecture of many religious buildings on the Adriatic coast erected between the tenth and twelfth centuries can only be explained by Byzantine influence. Similarly, the succession of churches—from Studenica to Decani—built by the Serbian kings between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries cannot be understood without reference to Romanesque style. These monuments and dozens like them are not products of closed spheres of influence but of crossroads of civilization where different cultures met and mingled.

Again, the famous "stetchak" tombstones of Bosnia and Herzegovina were carved or engraved in a specific historical context: the struggle of a native community against *both* "east" and "west". Moreover, from the fifteenth century onwards, the Turkish conquest and, consequently, the presence of Islam in many of the lands that make up present-day Yugoslavia added a new dimension to the concept of the "East", while highly specialized forms of culture grew up in the so-called "western" zone.

History does not mould geography, but it does unfold in and adapt to a natural setting. From the earliest times centres of cultural life formed around natural lines of communication: the coast and inland waterways. Soldiers and merchants travelled these main routes and with them went their myths, their gods and forms of worship. Along them were to be found the first human settlements, the first stone inscriptions and the earliest towns.

Life was harder on the bare plateaux and in the forests of the mountain ranges that rise between the Adriatic and the Danube and Sava valleys to the north. Thus geography and climate influenced the development of habitats and life styles, including their variety and duration, as well as the separateness of the different regions whose originally natural frontiers later hardened into political and religious ones.

If one were to begin the history of Yugoslavia with the arrival of the Slavs, it would go back no further than the seventh century. However, the succession of civilizations which flourished in these lands in both historic and prehistoric times have left countless remains—not only those brought to light by archaeologists, but monuments, still standing, which today as in the past remain permanent features of the landscape.

This curious terra-cotta head was unearthed at a neolithic site near Pristina in Yugoslavia. It is one of many archaeological finds which attest to the region's cultural importance in prehistoric times.

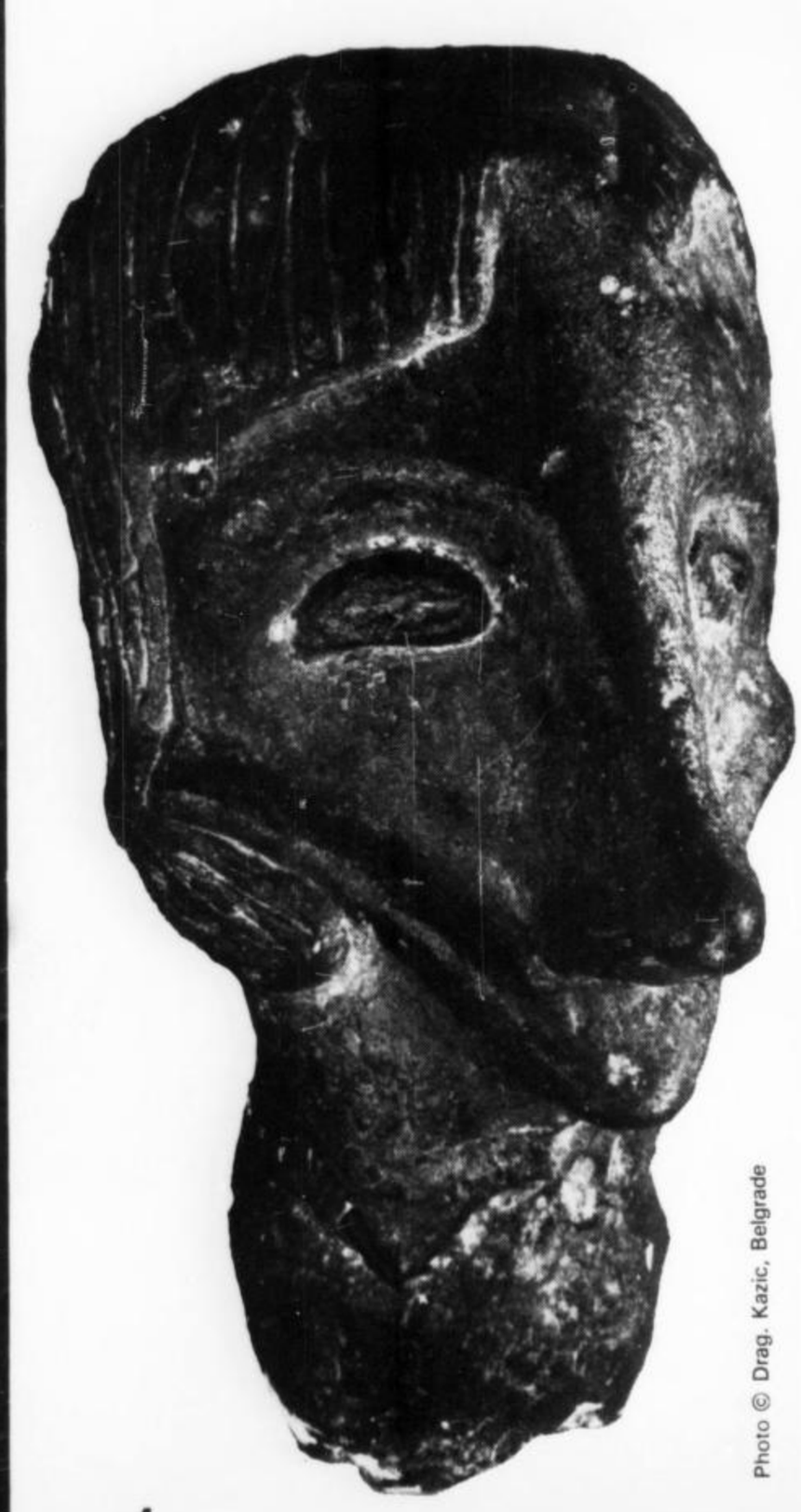

Photo © Drag. Kazic, Belgrade

DOSCOPE OF CULTURES

Portrait of a lady. A striking detail from a fresco in a 14th-century Serbian church.

Photo © Arsenije Jovanovic, Belgrade

Photos © National Museum, Belgrade

The great funeral mounds containing stone tombs, built by the Illyrians more than three thousand years ago, are still a distinctive feature of Adriatic hillsides. The general outline of prehistoric settlements survives in the oval or circular shapes of many medieval cities, especially in the highlands of Istria. And roads built by long-forgotten peoples continue to be used, while the names these peoples gave to rivers, mountains and the larger islands have been retained in the various languages spoken in present-day Yugoslavia.

In Antiquity, the economic and cultural growth of the Hellenistic and Roman periods left its mark throughout Yugoslavia and greatly influenced subsequent development. In coastal towns such as Poreč or Zadar, the city plan still follows the basic lines laid down by Roman surveyors. And when Split was established in the Middle Ages, it developed within the walls of the huge palace built at the end of the third century near Salona, capital of Roman Dalmatia, by the emperor Diocletian.

In many other places the imposing ruins of temples, triumphal arches, theatres, circuses and necropolises are part of the landscape and of people's daily life. And churches built by the early Christians during the last centuries of Antiquity are still used as places of worship: a prime example is the great cathedral of Poreč, in Croatia, built by bishop Euphrasius in the sixth century and decorated with magnificent mosaics.

It is not surprising that this heritage should have been an inexhaustible source of inspiration for artists, particularly in areas close to the Adriatic. In the eleventh century, anonymous sculptors used as models statues found in Roman tombs. And in the thirteenth century the master craftsman Buvina, who carved the doors of Split cathedral, borrowed ornamental designs from a temple built during the reign of Diocletian.

A few years later, disciples of another master, Radovan, surrounded the statues of saints on the portals of the cathedral of St.Lawrence, at Trogir in Dalmatia, with huntsmen, wild animals, satyrs, mermaids and foliage reminiscent of ancient designs. Depicted on the same doorway are two large figures of Adam and Eve, the latter modestly shielding her breast with one hand in a gesture which irresistibly brings to mind the figure of Venus.

Models from Antiquity recalling the Roman history of the area were popular during the sixteenth century, and in literature authors imitated the themes and forms of Latin poetry.

For five hundred years, from the ninth to the fifteenth century, the cultural life of Yugoslavia developed within a variety of different political systems. The earliest Slav States were established in the hinterland behind the Adriatic where, up to the end of the eleventh century, the kingdom of Croatia played a vital role linking the rural communities of the interior to the ancient urban civilization of the coast.

The towns which grew up during this medieval period remained centres of Croatian culture for hundreds of years. But a series of crises undermined the Croatian State and it finally succumbed to Hungarian intervention early in the twelfth century.

There followed a long period of Croat-Magyar "association", which, after the sixteenth century, continued in the framework of the Austrian empire, and, though marked by constant friction and antagonism, lasted until 1918.

Venetian interests dominated in the area where sea-borne trade along the Adriatic coast linked central Europe to the Mediterranean. At first the Venetians were content to occupy ports, but in the thirteenth century they began to annex territory— on the west coast of Istria to begin with and, later, along the Dalmatian seaboard.

By the beginning of the fifteenth century they had become masters of all Dalmatia, with the exception of Dubrovnik (Ragusa) which with its surrounding territory developed into a city-state and maintained its independence up to the Napoleonic wars. Its end came shortly after the fall of the Venetian republic.

Other states were formed in the interior. First Serbia in the eleventh century, which soon extended its influence to the south-east, establishing its hegemony over part of Macedonia. Its rulers dreamt of conquering Constantinople. But the Turkish invasion put an end to these dreams and, in 1389, the Serbian princes suffered final defeat at the battle of Kossovo.

Bosnia's independence was even more short-lived. During the fourteenth and fif-

Eastern and Western traditions meet at the monastery of Studenica, in the church of the Holy Virgin (far left). The monastery, which was founded in the late 12th century by the Serbian ruler Stefan Nemanja, is widely regarded as the finest example of the "Raska" school of architecture which flourished in medieval Serbia and whose hallmark was a blend of Romanesque and Byzantine elements. At Studenica, Romanesque influence is very strong in the architectural structure, whereas the frescoes inside the church (left, detail from the crucifixion) are Byzantine in inspiration.

The skyline of Sarajevo, below, is studded with mosques and minarets many of which date back to the 16th century when the town became a stronghold of Muslim culture. Sarajevo is today the picturesque capital of Yugoslavia's Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Photo Rune Hassner © G. Bern, Paris

teenth centuries it extended its domination over vast territories between the Adriatic and the Sava river. But, here too, the Turkish conquest cut short its expansion.

The north-west of present-day Yugoslavia—Slovenia and inner Istria—was part of the Holy Roman Empire. In this area, powerful vassals of the emperor—both secular lords and churchmen including bishops, abbots and heads of religious orders such as Cistercians and Templars, custodians of temporal power—ruled over huge feudal estates and enjoyed relative independence on a regional level.

In the medieval cities, harmonious and lasting forms of social organization developed independently, particularly on the Adriatic coast where towns, while paying allegiance to different powers, governed themselves according to their own laws and minted their own coins. But in the struggle against Venice and the drive to gain free access to sea-borne trade and establish themselves as States, only Dubrovnik really succeeded.

The evolution of cultural life in Yugoslavia has not followed a simple course. It is like a complex web of cross-currents which meet, diverge and intersect. Some flow peacefully in the same direction for centuries, others gush forth like springs and then vanish. Sometimes these currents run parallel to one another, close yet separated by accidents of history.

The centres of social, political and religious life where these trends and movements originated also had a chequered history. Some faded out after a few dozen years of intense activity, then revived or sank into oblivion ; while others developed regularly without interruption.

Monasteries and bishoprics (both Orthodox and Roman Catholic) as well as princely courts played a part in this process. But the most important centres were the towns, for economic and social activity promoted the growth of culture and it was in the cities that creative artists—painters, sculptors, miniaturists, goldsmiths and silversmiths—established their workshops.

Here, too, the towns of the Adriatic seaboard took the lead. From the earliest times, craftsmen in these centres of trade and exchange produced works of high quality. They were well aware of the importance of the written word as a means of recording both individual and collective achievements for posterity, as can be seen in countless manuscripts, archives and inscriptions in crypts ; from the ninth century onwards donors had their names carved in the stonework in churches.

Very early on, too, artists began to sign their works. Books were written in Latin but also in Croatian in the Glagolithic alphabet. Romance or Italian were spoken in addition to Latin and Croatian. In fact, "multilingualism" gave a specific stamp to the region's cultural history. It was in these coastal districts that the first literary works in a "national language" were written, as well as the first studies on the ethnic groups of the region, the hinterland and the Slav world in general.

In contrast, urban development in the interior was slow. A few boom towns grew up near the mines in mountain areas during the Middle Ages ; but they were short-lived. Generally speaking towns developed gradually round monasteries or castles. In the north-west of the country (Slovenia and northern Croatia), the first townships appeared only in the thirteenth century, and in Bosnia and Herzegovina as late as the fifteenth century when the Turkish occupation became stabilized. But in most cases they were no more than small country towns and up till quite recently living standards there were low. In certain border areas urban development was arrested or slowed down by the wars against the Turks. ■

These monumental stone tombs, known as "stetchaks", are examples of a highly original funerary art created by the Bogomils, a Christian sect which flourished in the Balkans from the 10th to the 15th century. About 30,000 stetchaks, some weighing over 30 tons, can still be seen scattered in the mountains and forests of Bosnia and Herzegovina. They are decorated with a wealth of carvings depicting heraldic signs and symbols, conventionalized portraits and scenes of games, hunting and tournaments. The meaning of these carvings is still not fully understood.

Photo © Drag. Kazic, Belgrade

YUGOSLAVIA

II. The language of styles

The west portal of the cathedral of St. Lawrence, in the Dalmatian port of Trogir, is a masterpiece executed by the artist Radovan and his pupils in the mid-13th century. The carvings around it, on the theme of original sin and redemption, include two large figures of Adam (below) and Eve, as well as scenes and motifs recalling the styles of classical Antiquity.

ART works are the best yardstick of cultural evolution, and Yugoslavia possesses a remarkable range of historic buildings, paintings, frescoes and sculpture. The greatest concentration of monuments of all periods is to be found in and around the coastal towns where secular and religious architecture mingle, as do private and public buildings.

Palaces and rich mansions, cathedrals, churches and monasteries rise within the cities' walls and ramparts and on all the roads leading to them. And in the succession of styles from Romanesque to Gothic and Renaissance, all the major influences common to European culture can be seen interacting with one another.

Many works from this region are mentioned in standard histories of art, but they are generally listed under headings which take no account of their origin or affinities. For example, works from Istria and Dalmatia have been classed arbitrarily as Italian art.

It is, of course, a historical fact that the constant movement of people and goods across the Adriatic and the links established between communities on both sides of the sea created a basic unity throughout the region. But this does not mean that everything can be reduced to a single ethnic designation or a single political "amalgam".

Until a few years ago only a limited number of important monuments documented the evolution of art in this region. But recent research has brought to light a variety of works, all bearing the mark of the dominant style of their period. The distinctive forms of Romanesque and Gothic styles not only shaped palaces and cathedrals, they are also to be found in craftsmen's cottages and small churches in poor neighbourhoods.

The "language" of these styles became a *lingua franca* used by different social classes. The semi-circular arch of Romanesque windows and later the pointed arch of Gothic façades indicated membership of the urban community, while symbols carved above doorways (ancestors of the coat of arms) meant that their owners had risen in the social scale to become leading citizens.

Style, particularly in architecture, was thus a means of expressing social distinctions, much as Latin, the official language of government and the courts, marked the division between town and country. (In Dalmatia this form of linguistic "separatism" disappeared in the fifteenth century when scholars in the towns began to write literary works in the national language.)

Along with the evolution of style, a deeper process was taking place: the secularization of themes and traditions. Already painters and sculptors of the Romanesque period had abandoned the Byzantine tradition. In its concern with expressiveness and its narrative style linking the religious universe to worldly reality, the art of the region followed a trend common to the whole of Europe.

In the fifteenth century the naturalistic tendencies of late Gothic blended with the new Renaissance style, producing in architecture, sculpture and painting forms which it is difficult to attribute to a single style. Romanesque art throughout the coastal areas in the thirteenth century had pervaded urban architecture; the ensuing Gothic period broadened the scope of artistic endeavour to include semi-urban and even rural communities.

In the big cities artistic activity was conditioned by the classical training of the ruling classes, whereas in smaller, less affluent communities a dominant influence was exerted by the great mendicant and preaching orders—the Dominicans and Franciscans.

A similar evolution was taking place in the north-east of the country. Mural painting was an important feature in many village churches built during this period in Istria, Slovenia and northern Croatia. Bible history was told in the form of racy picture-stories in which traditional motifs mingled with a kind of popular theology. A favourite theme in these paintings is the Dance of Death regarded by the faithful as an assertion of the basic equality of all human beings in the face of mortality.

Easel painting also flourished during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Rooted in the traditions of Byzantine icon painting, it was influenced to some extent by the Venetian school. But Gothic mannerism had not yet given way to the brilliance of the Renaissance, except in the work of a few great painters such as Giorgio Schiavone, Nicolaus Ragusinus and Mihailo Hamzić.

In the east and south-east of present-day Yugoslavia, Byzantium was the dominant influence in social, political, religious and cultural evolution. The complex relations which the Slav population of the Balkans maintained with the centre of the empire at Constantinople was marked by a succession of offensive and defensive wars, compromise and resistance. The Slav States achieved independence and established their power in battle, but that did not preclude cultural and religious ties with Byzantium.

The rise of the Bulgarian State, the flowering of Tsar Samuel's short-lived empire and the establishment of the Serbian State marked a rejection of Byzantine domination. But though Serbia in the early days showed certain "western" tendencies

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Photo © Drag. Kazic, Belgrade

Photos © National Museum, Belgrade

Church walls in the great monasteries of medieval Serbia were covered with frescoes painted by artists working within the Byzantine tradition of stylized religious iconography. Above right, detail from the Descent from the Cross in the monastery church of Mileseva, founded by King Vladislav in the middle of the 13th century. The fresco belongs to an important ensemble of New Testament scenes. The Mileseva artists also left for posterity a unique portrait gallery of medieval Serb rulers in accordance with a custom whereby the founder of a monastery was portrayed as part of its decoration, surrounded by members of his family. Medieval Serbia was also a major centre of icon painting. Above left, icon of the Virgin Mary from the monastery church of Decani.

"The paths of glory lead but to the grave." Photo right shows a detail from a late 15th-century fresco in a church at the little Istrian village of Beram (Croatia). The complete work shows prince and peasant, innkeeper and churchman, each followed by a skeleton, in a "Dance of Death" symbolizing the equality of all men and women in face of mortality.

Photo © Arsenije Jovanovic, Belgrade

Detail from a 16th-century painting of *The Last Judgement* in the monastery of Moraca in Montenegro. The monastery was built in 1251-1252 by the grandson of Stefan Nemanja, the founder of a great medieval Serbian dynasty.

A group of musicians is depicted in this tiny detail from the 1,260 square metres of frescoes in the church of the monastery of Piva. Founded in 1573, Piva was for almost four centuries little known because of its remote location in the mountain fastnesses of what is today the Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro. Its art treasures were undocumented. Then the decision to build a power station on the river Piva jeopardized the monastery's existence and aroused widespread interest in its plight. In view of Piva's importance and the fact that its architecture and early 17th-century frescoes make up an indivisible entity, it was decided to remove the monastery stone by stone and reconstruct it high above its original site. Work on the highly delicate removal operation began in 1970 and since then the monastery complex has been transported to the new spot and the church has been rebuilt. Work on restoring the frescoes, which present a wealth of iconographic themes influenced by Cretan art, is still in progress.

Photo © Bratuslav Lukic, Belgrade

Photo © Drag. Kazic, Belgrade

Photo © Drag. Kazic, Belgrade

Law and or(e)der in Novo Brdo

Miniature above is part of a recently discovered 16th-century copy of a legal code drawn up to regulate the mining industry at the instigation of the Serbian ruler Stefan Lazarevic (1389-1427). It shows members of the council of jurists during their deliberations. The laws, known as the Code of Novo Brdo after the town where Serbia's biggest silver mine was located, vividly evoke life in the mining communities of medieval Serbia. Miners' pay and working conditions are rigorously defined and provisions for security, such as ventilation shafts, are laid down. An annexe document highlights the privileged status of miners: merchants were forbidden to sell food to anyone else as long as a miner was waiting to buy it.

Photo © National Museum, Belgrade

Richly embossed cover of a Gospel-book (1557) from the village of Besenovo in Vojvodina.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

due to its access to the Adriatic, Constantinople continued to inspire the area's cultural life.

In 1014, Samuel was defeated at the battle of Belasica and his empire collapsed: the conquerors put out the eyes of 14,000 of his soldiers. A few years later, at Ohrid, Constantinople was to win a very different kind of victory when the new cathedral of Saint Sophia was consecrated: the magnificent murals it contained were directly inspired by Byzantine court painting, as were the frescoes in the small church of Saint Pantheleimon (1164) at Nerezi, near Skopje. Painted by an exceptionally gifted artist, these murals display several novel features—including a *Pietà*—and deserve a special place in art history.

Gradually the imperial art of Byzantium spread to workshops in the smallest country towns: the paintings at Kurbinovo, near Lake Prespa, which date back to 1191, are one example. This trend continued during the next two centuries and, as the number

of donors increased, so did the activity of artists.

The influence of the Byzantine-Macedonian school of painting reached Serbia towards the end of the thirteenth century. Initially it met with resistance. For example, in the "royal church" of Studenica monastery the architecture and even the sculpture on the doorways reveal Romanesque—i.e. Western—influence, whereas the paintings inside belong to the Constantinople school.

This contrast reflects the political tension rife at the time: Stefan II, son of Stefan Nemanja whose dynasty was to last for two centuries, was crowned king of Serbia in Rome, but his brother, Sava, abbot of Studenica monastery, threw in his lot with Constantinople and became the first patriarch of the Serbian Church. It is therefore not surprising that he should have called on Byzantine artists to decorate Studenica. After his death, the decoration of the funeral chapels of the Nemanja dynasty continued in the best tradition of Byzantine art: the frescoes in the monasteries of Mileseva and Sopócani are just two examples.

This trend received fresh impetus when Serbia extended its rule to northern Macedonia where artistic life was not restricted to the court but also flourished in centres established on the great secular and church domains. At Ohrid, early in the fourteenth century, two masters—Eustachius and Michael—painted magnificent works for the church of Saint Clement, putting forward and developing the aesthetic ideas of the Palaeologus Renaissance.

After the defeat of Kossovo at the end of the fourteenth century, the Serbian rulers moved their capital northwards to Smederevo, in the Morava valley, and with them went the artists. For more than a hundred years the "Morava School", heir to a long tradition, was to produce remarkable works both in painting and architecture (see the *Unesco Courier,* August-September 1978).

This tradition continued, taking on a new form after the fall of Smederevo in 1459. Nothing now remained of the Serbian State, but for Serbs living under Turkish domination and those who had emigrated massively to the north and west, the icons, illuminated manuscripts and fresco-decorated churches were not mere relics of the past but symbols of national identity.

These artistic traditions enabled the Serbs in exile in Vojvodina to maintain themselves as a national group resisting all pressures. In fact, it was in this exile that modern Serbian cultural life developed. Centres established in exile remained active long after the rebirth of Serbia in the nineteenth century. Recent research has shown that this latter-day Byzantine art was not content with repeating set formulas: it actually broke new ground in Vojvodina during the eighteenth century blending the Byzantine with the new Baroque iconography. ■

YUGOSLAVIA

III. Birthright of a modern State

These heads from the apse of the cathedral of Sibenik in Croatia are examples of the Renaissance art which began to flourish on the Dalmatian coast in the middle of the 15th century. In the opinion of some specialists the finest works of art in Croatia, if not the whole of present-day Yugoslavia, date from the Renaissance.

BY the end of the fifteenth century the Ottoman empire had occupied a large part of present-day Yugoslavia and, up to the end of the seventeenth century, it continued to annex new provinces. Islam is therefore an important factor in understanding the cultural life of the country. But the wars that devastated central Europe, threatening even Vienna, and the bitter struggle waged by the conquered peoples left lasting memories which made it difficult to speak of Islam's contribution to cultural life.

Religion was the key to social position in the empire, and the conditions under which the conquered peoples maintained their beliefs and coherence as national groups were very hard. Conversion offered a means of changing one's status, and in several areas, especially Bosnia and Herzegovina, part of the population adopted this solution.

Constraints and resistance notwithstanding, changes did take place in areas where Turkish power had become stabilized. This evolution can be seen in the characteristic plans of certain towns and the architecture of religious and trade centres. This architecture, however, was not entirely foreign to the country, for Turkish culture in the Balkans already embodied certain traditions of the occupied areas: it had been influenced in particular by the style of secular and religious buildings in the Christian east.

Many fine dwellings recall this period, as do bridges and several outstanding mosques. In turn, the Christian population assimilated elements of Islamic culture, though in the literary field language proved an insuperable barrier.

Yet bilingualism—and even "plurilingualism"—was common in some circles. Yugoslavs served in the army and civil service and taught in the schools of the Turkish empire—as they did in those of Austria or Venice. Political and ideological divisions imposed various forms of alienation, the most severe being when men speaking the same language found themselves fighting under different flags.

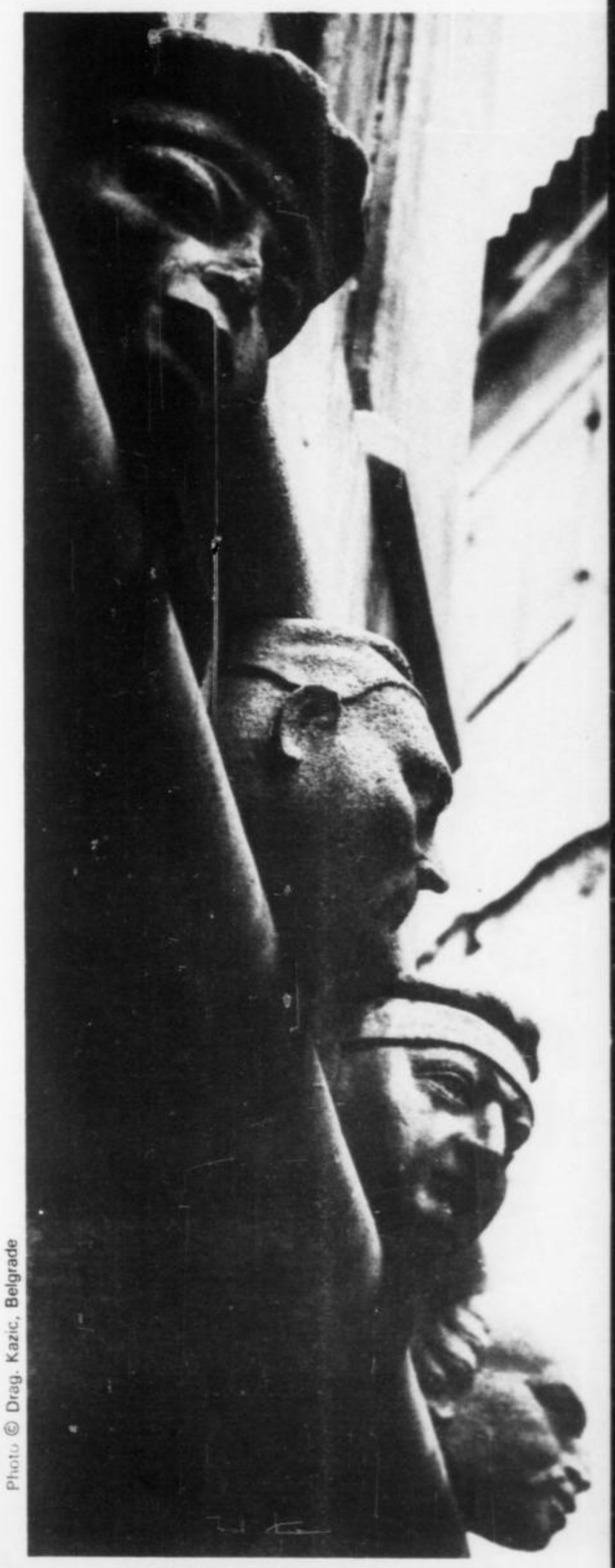


Photo © Drag. Kazic, Belgrade

Baroque became the predominant style of religious architecture and decoration in Croatia where it was introduced by the Jesuits in the 17th century and was favoured by the Franciscans in the 18th. Photo shows part of a sculpture from a church at Belec, Croatia, dating from between 1743 and 1746.

Photo © Drag. Kazic, Belgrade

From the fifteenth century onwards war was a permanent feature in these parts. The territory of present-day Yugoslavia was split up between three powers—Austria, Turkey and Venice—and there was fighting on all their borders. It did not always take the form of full-scale military campaigns, but there were continual skirmishes and guerilla attacks as well as raids between rival factions serving different powers. All this led to widespread destruction and where fighting was severe and continued for long periods whole areas emptied of their population and became nomanslands.

Worse still, the frontiers arbitrarily drawn by the three great powers blocked natural lines of communication between the interior and the coast, curtailing the movement and exchange of information, goods and people. Thereafter each region developed in a kind of vacuum, dependent on decisions taken in far-off capitals. These territories were only of marginal interest to the big States which had fought so hard for their possession.

Differences between the provinces and the main centres of power, and between small and large towns grew more marked in the seventeenth century when the development process was centered in the capitals and major cities. Distant areas found it increasingly difficult to keep pace with important changes taking place in social, political, economic and cultural life.

Signs of this "provincialism" can be observed in art in the early sixteenth century. There were fewer and fewer building projects, fewer and fewer commissions and a decreasing demand for public work. In the narrow, stifling atmosphere of provincial towns emigration seemed the only solution and the best artists sought fortune abroad. Francesco da Laurana, one of the great Renaissance sculptors, left Dalmatia to work in Naples and Sicily before settling in Avignon. Similarly the reformer Flacius Illyricus abandoned his native Istria never to return, as did the historian Lucius of Trogir who settled in Rome.

One of the greatest masters of Baroque art, the painter Federico Bencovich, worked in Italy and Germany, while the only links the famous eighteenth century mathematician, physicist and astronomer Ruggiero Boskovic retained with his birthplace, Dubrovnik, were memories of his youth.

For the provincial artist, passive imitation of foreign models or static traditionalism were the order of the day. The middle classes were not powerful enough to influence the evolution of art and as for the aristocracy, they satisfied their aesthetic needs by buying art works in the big cities.

Here and there some activity continued. For example, during the Baroque period, interesting works were still being produced outside the areas of Turkish occupation, and several townships grew up or were rebuilt in the north-west of the country. But from the sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth century, one of architecture's main tasks—judging by the size of the building projects and the quality of the work—was to build fortresses and ramparts.

The same period saw the rise of a growing movement of revolt in all the provinces under Austrian, Turkish and Venetian rule and, as time went on, these movements became increasingly national in character. Linguistic imperialism and the refusal to recognize national or regional differences met with stronger and stronger resistance.

In the Ottoman empire these movements developed into armed uprisings leading to the liberation first of Montenegro, then of Serbia. With Turkey now on the defensive, the great powers sought to eliminate it from the Balkans. Austria seized Bosnia and

Photo shows one of Slovenia's *Kurenti* dancers wearing a beaked and bewhiskered mask surrounded by feathers. *Kurenti* dancers take part in an ancient Slav ritual which, although pagan in origin, became part of the customs of the Catholic population of Slovenia and is still practised today near Ptuj, a little town in the north of the Republic of Slovenia. During the Austrian domination of Slovenia, which lasted until 1918, the ritual was proscribed by Church and State and became an expression of resistance to the authorities. This spirit of resistance to the domination of another culture and language is also apparent in certain colloquial forms of Slovene which, unlike other languages of the region, has conserved some archaic Slav expressions.

Photo © Drag Kazic, Belgrade

Herzegovina, as she had seized the coastal region after the fall of Venice and the end of the Napoleonic wars. Up to 1918 Croatia and Slovenia remained part of the Austro-Hungarian empire.

Within this framework a new national consciousness developed which found expression not only in political struggles but also in intense cultural activity. Among major achievements of this nineteenth century revival were: the promotion of national languages, new forms of historical research, the attainment of higher education and the creation of theatres and museums.

It is true that in areas formerly sealed off from one another by historical circumstances, revival sometimes coincided with the awakening of several often conflicting national movements—a situation which was to plague independent Yugoslavia between the two World Wars: the centralization imposed by the authorities clashed with the special interests and national feelings of the ▶

Photo © Ranko Rosic, Sarajevo

Striking contrast between sober symbolism and picturesque realism appears in these examples of Yugoslavia's remarkable tradition of funerary art. Left, symbolic carvings on a tombstone from a Turkish cemetery at Sarajevo. Below, realistic human figures sculpted on a group of Serbian gravestones of the kind which commemorate men and women who died far from home (while travelling, at work, or on the battlefield). Such gravestones can still be seen, notably in western Serbia, standing singly or in groups at the roadside. The figures are posthumous portraits featuring details of clothing or articles associated with a particular profession or office, which indicate the dead person's position in society. Most of the stones are painted, and many bear epitaphs which are as redolent of serenity, melancholy or resignation as the portraits themselves. •

Photo © Drag. Kazic, Belgrade

Photo © Bogdan Bogdanovic, Belgrade

A gigantic flower with immense petals opening skywards. With this symbol of hope, faith and dignity the sculptor Bogdan Bogdanovic has commemorated over 700,000 persons who perished during the Nazi occupation (1941-1945) in Yugoslavia's biggest concentration camp. The monument stands on the site of the camp, in the Croatian village of Jasenovac on the river Sava.

The boundaries on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by Unesco or the United Nations.

various peoples making up the community. The resulting divisions were among the major causes of the Yugoslav kingdom's collapse in 1941.

Thus a form of provincialism continued well into the twentieth century. The cultural achievements of this period were often important but, generally speaking, they took place in isolation and could not keep pace with the major trends of European cultural development. Many of the best Yugoslav artists suffered from this backwardness at the turn of the century. Any attempt to compete with the great masters of the day met with a complete lack of understanding. What they had learned in famous schools abroad had to be forgotten directly they returned home, and many lofty projects never saw the light of day.

Under the guidance of the late Marshal Tito, a new Yugoslavia emerged from the resistance struggle against the Nazi invader and the war of liberation which had created the conditions necessary for resolving past conflicts and fostering development.

The establishment of six federal republics and two autonomous regions enabled the country's diverse ethnic groups to give full expression to their respective cultural identities within the framework of a multinational federal State.

The immediate post-war period was one of great difficulty; during the war large areas of the country had been devastated, towns and villages had been destroyed and more than a million and a half inhabitants had perished. It was in this context that began the twin processes of industrialization and urbanization which, in a relatively short period, were to transform the social and economic structures of the country, creating a new way of life and determining the options open to coming generations.

The repercussions of this evolution made themselves felt progressively in the cultural life of the country. Traditional forms and ancient customs intermingled with *avant-garde* art and new cultural developments under the impulsion of the increasingly influential mass media.

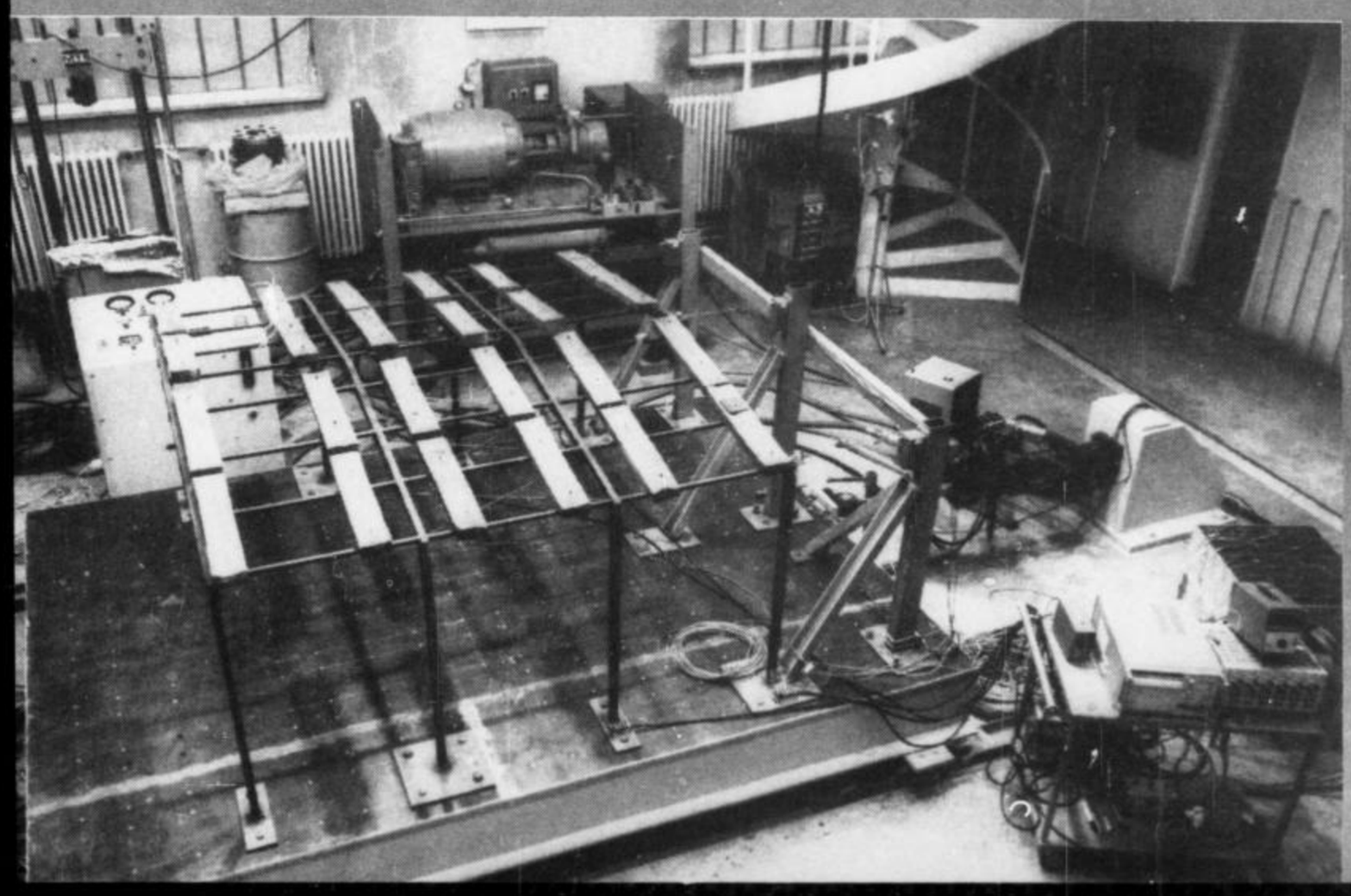
Whatever separate judgments one makes about the literary, artistic and scientific work produced by Yugoslavia in the last thirty years, there can be no doubt that the scope of its creativity, give it a definite place in the mainstream of contemporary European culture. ■

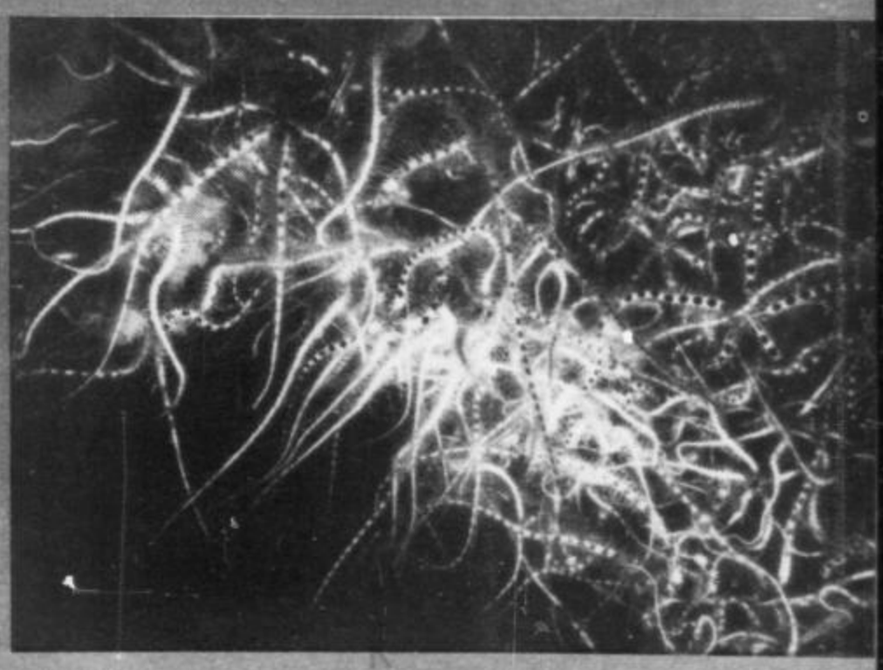
MILAN PRELOG, *of Yugoslavia, is an art historian and a professor at the university of Zagreb in Croatia (Yugoslavia). From 1976 until this year he was a member of Unesco's intergovernmental World Heritage Committee. He is the author of several studies on art history, urbanism, and the protection and renovation of ancient towns and monuments.*

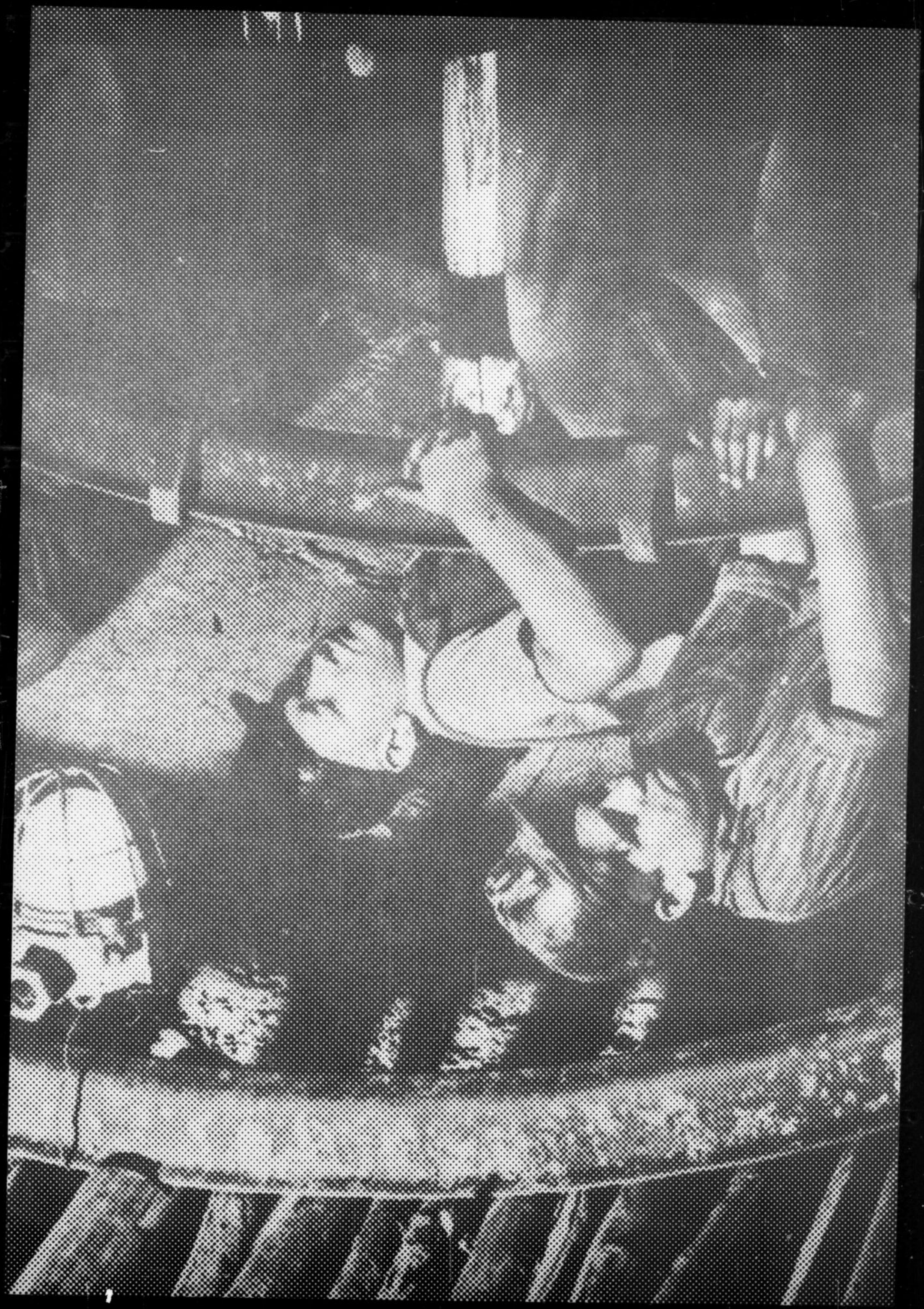
Photos © Politika, Belgrade

UNESCO AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH IN YUGOSLAVIA

On July 26 1963, Skopje, capital of Macedonia and the third largest city of Yugoslavia, was hit by a violent earthquake which left over a thousand people dead and 120,000 homeless. In an upsurge of international solidarity, relief in money and in kind poured in from 78 countries. A Unesco earthquake reconnaissance mission was despatched to the stricken city to assess the situation created by the disaster and to advise on long-term measures to be taken. Skopje has been completely rebuilt on the basis of a new earthquake-proof town plan. Today Skopje is the home of the Institute of Earthquake Engineering and Seismology, which was established through an international co-operative effort and with the assistance of a number of international agencies, in particular Unesco. Below left, a computer-controlled shaking table at the Institute tests the earthquake-resistance of a model of a steel structure. Below right, a colony of blue algae *(Ophiotrix quinquemaculata)* photographed in the Bay of Piran by staff of MARETRAC, the Marine Biology Centre at Piran, Slovenia, another institution which works in close co-operation with Unesco. An important recent development has been the establishment of the International Unesco Centre for Chemical studies at the Edvard Kardelj University, Ljubljana. The Centre will play a key role in Unesco's new International Organization for the Chemical Sciences for Development.







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Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow addressing the Conference after his unanimous re-election as Director-General of Unesco

Unesco General Conference, in Belgrade, approves three-year, $625,734,000 programme

MEETING in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, a crossroads of Eastern and Western cultures, the 21st session of the Unesco General Conference adopted—largely by consensus—a $625,734,000 programme for the Organization for the next three years.

The meeting, which lasted from 23 September to 28 October, was unique from several points of view. First of all, it planned Unesco's activities for a three-year period instead of two. This was done to bring Unesco's fiscal period into line with those of other United Nations agencies. Secondly, it was extraordinary in that the 1,869 delegates from 150 of Unesco's 153 Member States included no fewer than 134 ministers and hundreds of specialists of all sorts: archaeologists, oceanographers, jurists, educational planners, poets, and even a cosmonaut. Eight countries were represented for the first time at the General Conference: Dominica, Equatorial Guinea, Botswana, Sao Tome and Principe, St. Lucia, the Maldives, Zimbabwe and the Kingdom of Tonga.

The Conference heard addresses by several eminent statesmen, beginning with the President of the Presidium of the Federal Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia, Mr. Cvijetin Mijatovic, who paid tribute to Unesco as a "symbol of the broadest aspirations towards democracy and the humanization of international relations". President Sekou Touré of the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea called on Member States to

support the Organization in full measure "so that its action in favour of each one of our countries will be more effective". The Prime Minister of Bangladesh, Shah Azizur Rahman, appealed for progress in the North-South dialogue, saying "We want bridges not bombs".

The Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity, Mr. Edem Kodjo, and Mr. Yasser Arafat, President of the Palestine Liberation Organization, who also addressed plenary sessions, were among a number of high officials of intergovernmental, United Nations or non-governmental organizations attending.

The Conference also drew to Belgrade outstanding artists from 15 countries in widely separated regions of the globe who gave performances and concerts. The Sava Centar, where the sessions took place, was the scene of an outstanding event organized to mark the 15th centenary of the Hegira, a round table on "Islam Today", in which eminent scholars and scientists from all over the Muslim world took part.

Working from dawn to dusk and often far into the night, the delegates participated in more than 200 plenary sessions or commission meetings and took decisions on more than 400 draft resolutions. In addition to hammering out the programme of Unesco activities for the three years to come, the Conference:

- Unanimously re-elected Mr. Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow of Senegal as Director-General of Unesco for a seven-year term.
- Decided to increase the membership of the Unesco Executive Board from 45 to 51 in order to give additional representation to Third World nations, and elected 25 members to fill seats on the Board which fell vacant at the end of this term.
- Adopted a recommendation on the status of artists which called on Member States to take measures to "secure greater freedom for artists, without which they cannot fulfil their mission, and improve their status by acknowledging their right to enjoy the fruits of their work".
- Endorsed the Director-General's comments and observations on the findings of the International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems, headed by Mr. Sean MacBride, and particularly his view that the Commission's recommendations and analyses, far from being definitive, merely provided a basis for broader and more intensive discussions.
- Adopted by consensus a compromise resolution listing some of the principles which could underlie a new world information and communication order, called for a study of principles which might be included in a declaration on this subject, and decided to establish, within the framework of Unesco, an International Programme for the Development of Communication.
- Decided to hold the next regular session of the General Conference in Paris in 1983, with an extraordinary session to be held (also in Paris) in 1982 to decide on Unesco's next six-year Medium Term Plan of Action.

While the widely shared desire for consensus marked the entire Conference, international events in a rapidly changing and frequently tragic world could not fail to affect the deliberations.

At the inauguration, the Director-General called on Iran and Iraq to end their "fratricidal conflict". During the course of the Conference, a devastating earthquake ravaged the region of Al Asnam in Algeria. Within hours of the disaster, the Director-General had offered Unesco's aid, and when the plenary session met to call for international solidarity on behalf of the stricken population, he was able to announce the despatch of a Unesco mission to Al Asnam.

While the Conference was in commission studying problems of communication, appeals were launched on behalf of a news agency correspondent arrested in Africa. At the end of the Conference, a resolution was overwhelmingly approved (82 votes in favour, 15 against and 4 abstentions with 49 absentees) supporting the Director-General's efforts to secure the release of a Unesco official, jailed by his home country, in violation of its commitments to respect his immunity as an international civil servant.

The 372-page programme adopted by the Conference spells out details of Unesco's activities on behalf of a wide variety of objectives ranging from respect for human rights and appreciation and respect for cultural identity through the struggle against illiteracy, status of women and participation by women in development, human rights and peace, to the free flow of information and the process and role of communication.

Education: stress on action

THE focus in the education programme, the largest of the Organization's sectors, is on concrete, practical measures to broaden access to education, especially for certain disadvantaged groups. Unesco will assist Member States to improve educational administration and to reduce construction costs of educational facilities. Other steps are planned to strengthen the links between education and work and between formal and non-formal education.

For operational activities, the education programme foresees a budgetary increase of 20 per cent for projects funded by the United Nations system and of nearly 35 per cent for those funded from other extra-budgetary sources. It also places a greater emphasis on technical co-operation among developing countries.

Of particular significance is a major project in Latin America and the Caribbean area. Inter-disciplinary in character, it aims to reform education, promote culture and advance knowledge of science and technology with a view to increasing productivity

and improving living conditions in the region.
Unesco will also give support to a major adult education programme in the Arab Republic of Yemen and launch an international appeal for material and moral assistance to Ethiopia's campaign to eradicate illiteracy.

Science: nine new regional projects

THE main thrust of the science programme, the fastest growing area of Unesco's work, is to promote the access of developing countries to modern science and technology, through consultant services, training and technical co-operation. While continuity of action is provided by the strengthening of the large-scale scientific programmes (Man and the Biosphere, the International Hydrological Programme, the International Geological Correlation Programme and the Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission), innovation appears in the form of nine major regional projects and the reinforcement of activities in informatics, in new and renewable sources of energy and in integrated rural development.

The nine major projects, which are designed to make concrete contributions to the establishment of endogenous infrastructures in science and technology, cover the integration of technological research, training and development in South-East Asia and the Pacific; biotechnology and applied microbiology in Africa and the Arab States; geology for development in Africa; integrated management of tropical humid zones; integrated management of arid and semi-arid zones; rational utilization of water resources in rural areas (Latin America, Arab States and Africa south of the Sahara); and research and training leading to the integrated management of coastal ecosystems.

The social sciences: tools for understanding and action

AS in previous years, the social science programme aims both at the strengthening and development of the social sciences and their application to development problems. It includes the encouragement of basic and applied research, and creating or supporting regional and national institutions in order to promote the endogenous development of the social sciences.
Studies are also planned on the new international economic order and the influence of transnational corporations in Unesco's fields.

Social science activities concerned with the environment and human settlements make up an important part of the programme. They are designed to train people responsible for land management or town planning in the complexities of environmental problems.

In the field of population, projects have been approved for the study of internal and international migrations, the effect of population factors on the status of women, and the training of personnel in communication on population problems.

Education for disarmament occupies an important place in the activities on behalf of human rights and peace. In addition, normative action is planned to ensure the implementation of existing international agreements on human rights, as well as the study of obstacles to the exercise of human rights by certain disadvantaged groups.

Cultural identity and the need for cultural exchange

ASSISTANCE to museums in Aswan and Cairo, activities to mark the anniversaries of Picasso, Bela Bartok, Andres Bello and Simon Bolivar, preserving oral traditions in Africa, supporting the Pacific Arts Festival, protecting cultural and natural sites the world over, organizing a world conference on cultural policies: all these examples illustrate the wide variety of activities included in Unesco's cultural programme.
The programme is centered around two inter-related themes: the recognition of the cultural identity of all peoples and the need to promote increasing exchanges between cultures. Included in the programme are the continuation or initiation of inter-cultural studies and studies of Caribbean, Latin American, Asian, Pacific and African cultures, as well as the revision of Unesco's Scientific and Cultural History of Mankind. The programme also envisages the further development of the International Fund for the Promotion of Culture. The Fund, established in 1974, has provided assistance to date totalling $1,300,000 for 90 projects.

Communication: the drive for democratization

UNESCO, which has spearheaded efforts to democratize communication both within nations and internationally, has emerged as the lead agency in the United Nations system with constitutional responsibilities in the information and communication fields.

In addition to the new International Programme for the Development of Communication referred to earlier, the activities planned include such subjects as studies on the influence of advertising, the education of the general public as regards the media, the effects of industrialization on communication and the protection of journalists. (This last subject is to be examined in co-operation with professional organizations of journalists.)

Among other major activities figure an inter-governmental conference on communication policies to be convened for the Arab States, the training of specialists and the development and application of methodologies for communication policies.

Photo United Nations

Thirteen-year-old Odina E. Batnag, winner of a world-wide song-writing contest organized by Unesco, at a press conference in New York.

Filipino girl wins Unesco world-wide song-writing contest

ODINA E. Batnag, a thirteen year old high school student in Manila, Philippines, has been awarded the first prize in an international song-writing contest sponsored by Unesco, in collaboration with the Radio Corporation of America (RCA), for children under 14 years of age.

Almost a million children from fifty-seven countries participated in the competition and an international jury of poets, musicians and writers selected the best twenty from entries submitted by national organizers of the contest, the theme of which was "Children Helping Children".

The final selection of Odina's lyrics, entitled "I am but a small voice", was made by Roger Whittaker, the internationally-known singer, who was one of the originators of the contest.

Mr. Whittaker recorded the song, for which he wrote the music, and RCA Records is releasing it as a commercial single record and will donate the proceeds from its sale to Unesco's Education for Handicapped Children Programme. RCA is presenting Unesco with specially packaged copies of the recording for sale throughout the world. Whittaker is donating all royalties from the song, which will be included in his new album, to the Unesco programme.

International coin collection to finance cultural projects

UNESCO and the International Fund for the Promotion of Culture have decided to launch a world campaign for the minting of collectors' coins illustrating the theme "Arts and Crafts". All profits from the sale of these coins will be used by the Fund to finance cultural development projects in Unesco's Member States, first of all in those countries which have authorized the minting of the coins.

The Greek government has just communicated to Unesco Director-General Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow its decision to authorize the minting of a series of three coins, one gold and two silver. Thus Greece becomes the first State to take part in this initiative.

The International Fund for the Promotion of Culture was created by the General Conference of Unesco to aid in the promotion of cultural values, and to assist artistic creation and international and regional cultural co-operation. It is governed by an Administrative Council headed by Mr. Felipe Herrera, former president of the Inter-American Development Bank.

The Fund, which began its operational activities in April 1977, has approved to date a total of $1,506,000 to aid 92 cultural development projects in 46 countries.

Apartheid doomed to disappear says Unesco Director-General

"THE system of apartheid represents the last relic of a period in which systematic and institutionalized racialism was rife", declared Unesco Director-General Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow, in a message to the chairman of the U.N. Special Committee Against Apartheid, on the occasion of the Day of Solidarity with the Political Prisoners of South Africa which was celebrated on October 11.
"The epitome of all the flaws of that period, it seems all the more anachronistic and intolerable today. In the face of world opinion which has outlawed it and popular movements which daily erode it, this system is doomed to disappear, as the racialist regime in Rhodesia has just disappeared".
"But", the Director-General remarked, "if the people of Zimbabwe yesterday won their struggle for liberation, and if the people of South Africa are now beginning to take responsibility for their own struggle, it is because in both these countries women, men and even children rose up to put an end once and for all to racialist oppression and to recover in all its fullness their right to dignity, freedom and justice, and because these women, men and children were ready to make the supreme sacrifice of their lives."

Photo © International Labour Office, Geneva

The world's forgotten army of child workers

CHILD labour, often thought to be a problem of the past, is still a widespread and persistent evil in the 1980s. The latest estimates made by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) show that in the world as a whole there are no less than fifty-two million child workers under the age of fifteen.

What is more, even this figure may underestimate the real dimensions of this tragic situation, since in some countries young workers under fifteen are simply not included in the labour force statistics, while in others young people who both work and attend school are rarely considered as part of the labour force. In addition, the statistics cover only those youngsters who have a fixed job, and thus exclude the majority of those who work only occasionally.

Children in every type of society have always taken some part in those economic activities which are necessary for the survival of the group to which they belong.

In earlier times children worked within their family circle. Little by little, through almost unconscious observation, association and imitation, they learnt the role they would be called upon to play as adults. During this process of socialization, of which his "on the job" training formed a part, the child grew to physical and intellectual maturity and was simultaneously prepared for adult life. Work of this kind can be likened to those present day tasks which by nature are light, sporadic, interesting, educational and socially useful, and which serve to integrate the child in the social life of the group to which he belongs.

But against these pleasurable occupations should be set other kinds of job: those that are imposed upon the child, occasioned by necessity, and carried out under conditions of exploitation. They demand greater physical and mental resources than the exploited child possesses—because they are monotonous, strenuous, harmful or unduly prolonged, because they are a source of anxiety, and because they inevitably imply a lack of schooling, relaxation and general well-being. Jobs of this sort may be self-employed or wage-earning, and are often found in modern family businesses, albeit usually in a less extreme form. The very

many children who are engaged on work of this kind grow up prematurely and sadly.

Custom and the law usually hold that the work children do alongside their parents is distinct from the exploitation to which they may be subjected when they work for third parties. In practice, this is generally the case, since parents usually look after their children's welfare. Nevertheless, however much the physical effort, however the hours of work and the boredom inflicted on the child may be reduced, and however satisfactory his working environment may be, he will inevitably be involved in the family business and will share with his parents the kind of problems, preoccupations and uncertainties which are not usually the concern of children of his age.

In those Western nations which are today the most economically advanced countries in the world, it was taken for granted in the past that children would work alongside their parents in the fields or in the home. However, when the change-over to manufacturing industry took place neither the institutions nor the legislations of those countries were adequate to meet the new circumstances.

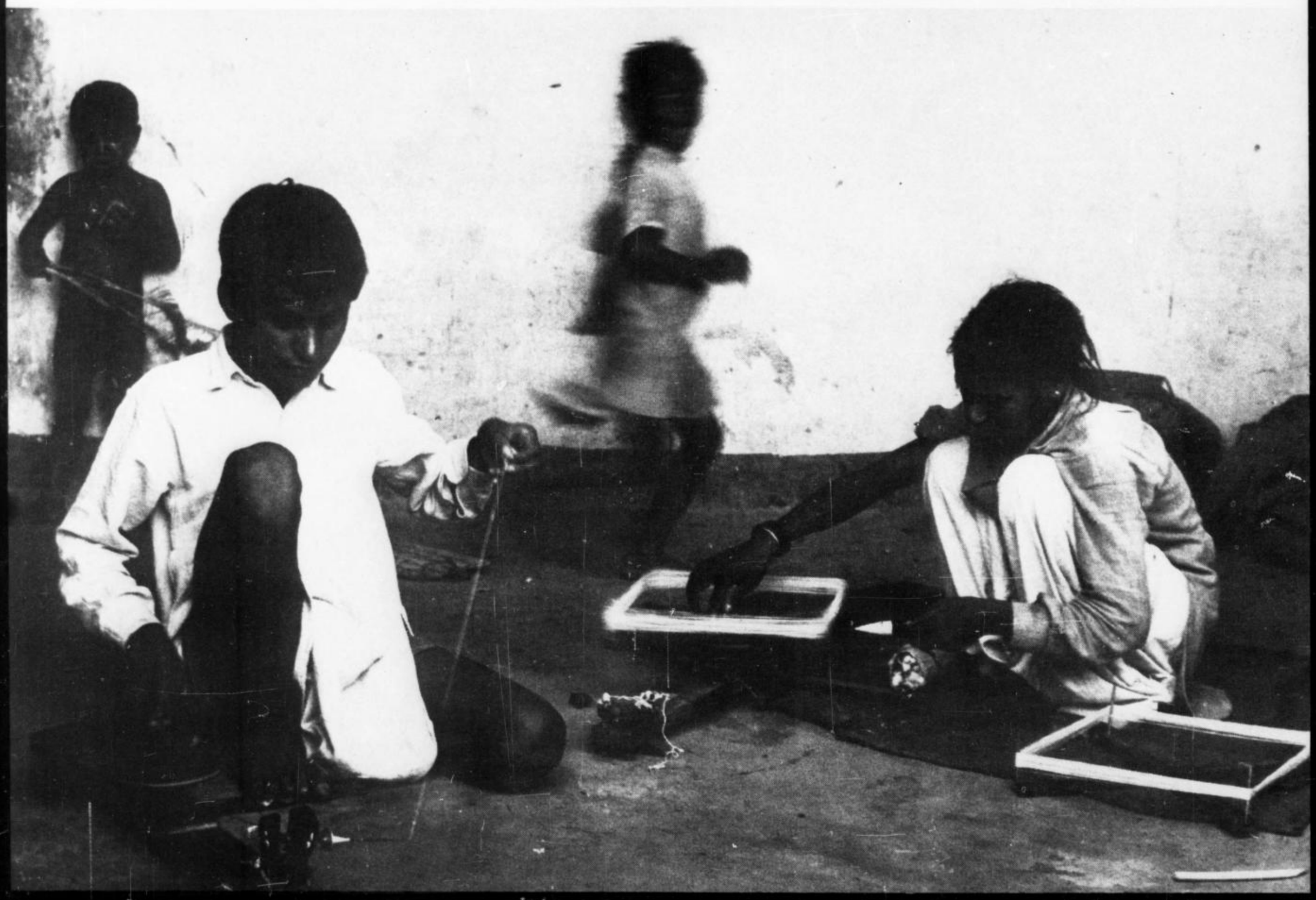
Thus in the nineteenth century it became common for children to work in factories, especially textile mills, from the age of six years onwards, toiling some fourteen hours a day in dreadful conditions, virtually unprotected from the risk of accidents. At the beginning of the twentieth century, some Western children were still being employed in coal mines or at home on work sent out to them by manufacturers.

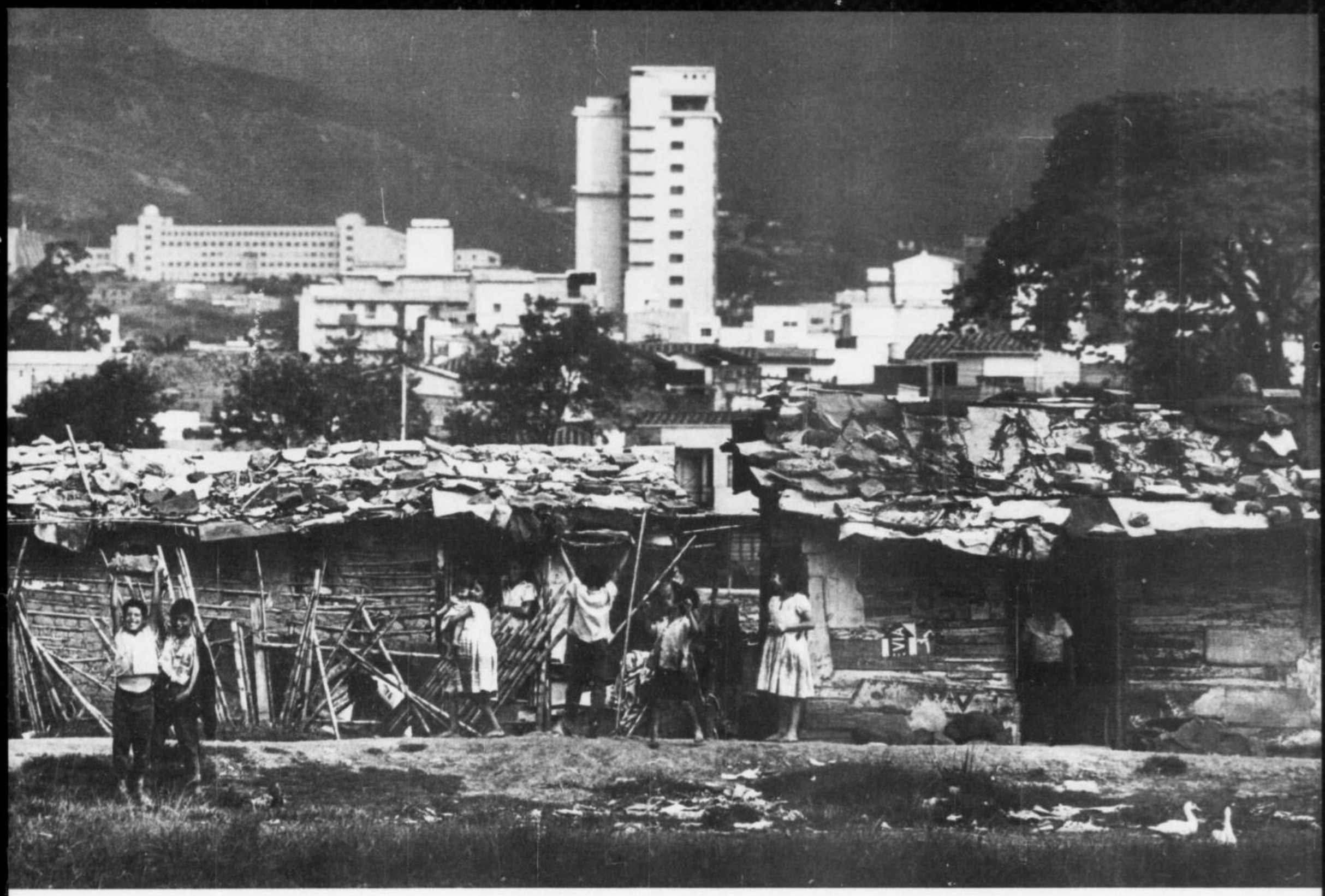
It was therefore in the more developed countries that people first became aware of the harmfulness of this kind of child labour and of the need to introduce compulsory education and to give children the necessary opportunities for recreation, and legal and practical measures were gradually introduced to this end. It seems, however, that these measures were not always inspired purely by humanitarian motives. They were also designed to protect the employment and wages of adult workers.

Child workers do work that could very well be done by adults; in other words, hiring children deprives adults of jobs. Moreover, children are paid much less than adults. There is a vicious circle here: on the one hand child labour increases unemployment among adults and reduces their income; and on the other, unemployment and low wages induce families to put their children to work. Thus child labour has both a positive and a negative effect on family income—although it seems that the latter outweighs the former.

If, on the one hand, child labour is prohibited by law in virtually all countries, on the other hand the numerous societies in which it exists cannot provide all their children with means of subsistence, direct or indirect, in any other way, nor provide them with the educational and cultural facilities and the means of recreation that they so badly need.

Photo © CIRIC, Geneva





Child labour in cities has greatly increased following the rapid urbanization of recent decades. In developing countries, rural families migrating to urban centres often find themselves living in appalling conditions in the shanty-towns that have mushroomed on the fringes of many large cities. Uprooted from their homes and traditional way of life and bewildered by a new and unknown environment, the adults often have great difficulty in finding employment; the children are sent out to work to enable the family to survive. In many cases the children become self-employed street traders exposed to hazards of all kinds—inclement weather, dirt, traffic risk, detention by the police for vagrancy, excessive fatigue due to long hours as well as the temptation to drift into delinquency.

In such circumstances there is every reason to fear that families will continue to send their children to work illegally and that employers will continue to engage them surreptitiously.

Thus large numbers of children are faced with two alternatives: either to work in violation of the law, or to resign themselves to enforced idleness, with the resulting temptation to drift into vagrancy or delinquency.

Here is another vicious circle: destitution compels the children to find an immediate source of livelihood, and the fact that they work during their childhood robs them of the chance to attend school and obtain the qualifications which might help them to escape from poverty.

Because child labour is illegal, the law makes no provision for safeguarding the conditions in which children work. Children thus do not enjoy the right to claim the social benefits which the law provides, and constitute a submissive and defenceless labour force. They are unable to negotiate their conditions of work (which are usually imposed arbitrarily by the employer); they have no trade unions to defend them and virtually no access to sickness or employment injury insurance or social security schemes (where such exist). Many of these problems also face children who work legally—that is, those who work in countries where the minimum age for admission to employment is fixed by law at a very low level (twelve or thirteen years). The great social advances secured by adult workers do not in fact apply to working children, who are exploited as if those advances had never been won.

The most recent ILO standards fix the minimum age for admission to employment at fifteen years and recommend, with various provisos, that this be gradually raised to sixteen years. However, at the national level the minimum age has been fixed by law at anything from twelve to sixteen years, depending on the country. In other words, in some countries children who work from the age of twelve or thirteen years are not breaking the law.

In the developing countries poverty is the fundamental cause of child labour, but it is usually combined with other factors, including those that have just been mentioned. A study recently undertaken in Bangkok among several hundred working children revealed that the principal reasons why they were at work were as follows:

Reason given	Percentage
Poverty	23.4
Need to assist parents in household economic activity	32.9
Parents want them to work	26.3
Need to earn their own living	7.9
Better than doing nothing	6.9
Other reasons	2.6

In general, children take up a particular job either because it is the only type of job open at the time they are looking for work (this may well involve a hasty choice which can affect their whole future life); or because one or more members of the family

In many Asian and African countries children have traditionally been employed in textile manufacture, from the spinning of thread to the hand-weaving of carpets. They can often work faster and better than adults and form a cheap and docile labour force.

Photo Rufine Nassner © G. Belli, Paris

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Photo Li Li © *China Reconstructs*

LINKING SCHOOL AND WORK

The education that children receive both at home and at school should be a preparation for life in the society in which they live and must not be too remote from daily working needs. In China, practical elements are gradually introduced into the school curriculum. The youngest children are given simple tasks to do such as clearing away dishes after meals (top photo). Primary schools (7 to 12 age group) often have small workshops attached to them in which the children undertake part-time, practical, productive work as part of the normal school curriculum. Bottom photo shows pupils at Kilin primary school making wax crayons. Secondary schools are often closely linked with full-scale industrial factories where pupils learn production techniques from full-time employees (middle photo).

are already doing that kind of job; or because the work in question does not call for any special qualifications (which means that the children will certainly remain at a very low vocational level).

The age at which children usually begin work depends on several factors—tradition, the size of the undertaking and whether or not it is a family concern. An inquiry carried out among a group of child workers in India revealed the following points: 24.7 per cent of the children had begun work between the age of six and nine years; 48.4 per cent between ten and twelve years; and 26.9 per cent between thirteen and fifteen years.

The results of another inquiry, carried out a few years ago in Portugal by the Portuguese Industrial Association among 19,040 adult workers in 230 mechanical engineering undertakings, showed that 3.6 per cent of the women had begun their working life between the ages of five and seven years, that 10.3 per cent of them had done so between the ages of eight and ten and that the proportion for those who had begun to work between the ages of eleven and thirteen was 41.1 per cent. In other words, 55 per cent of the women in this survey had started work before they had reached the legal minimum age for admission to employment.

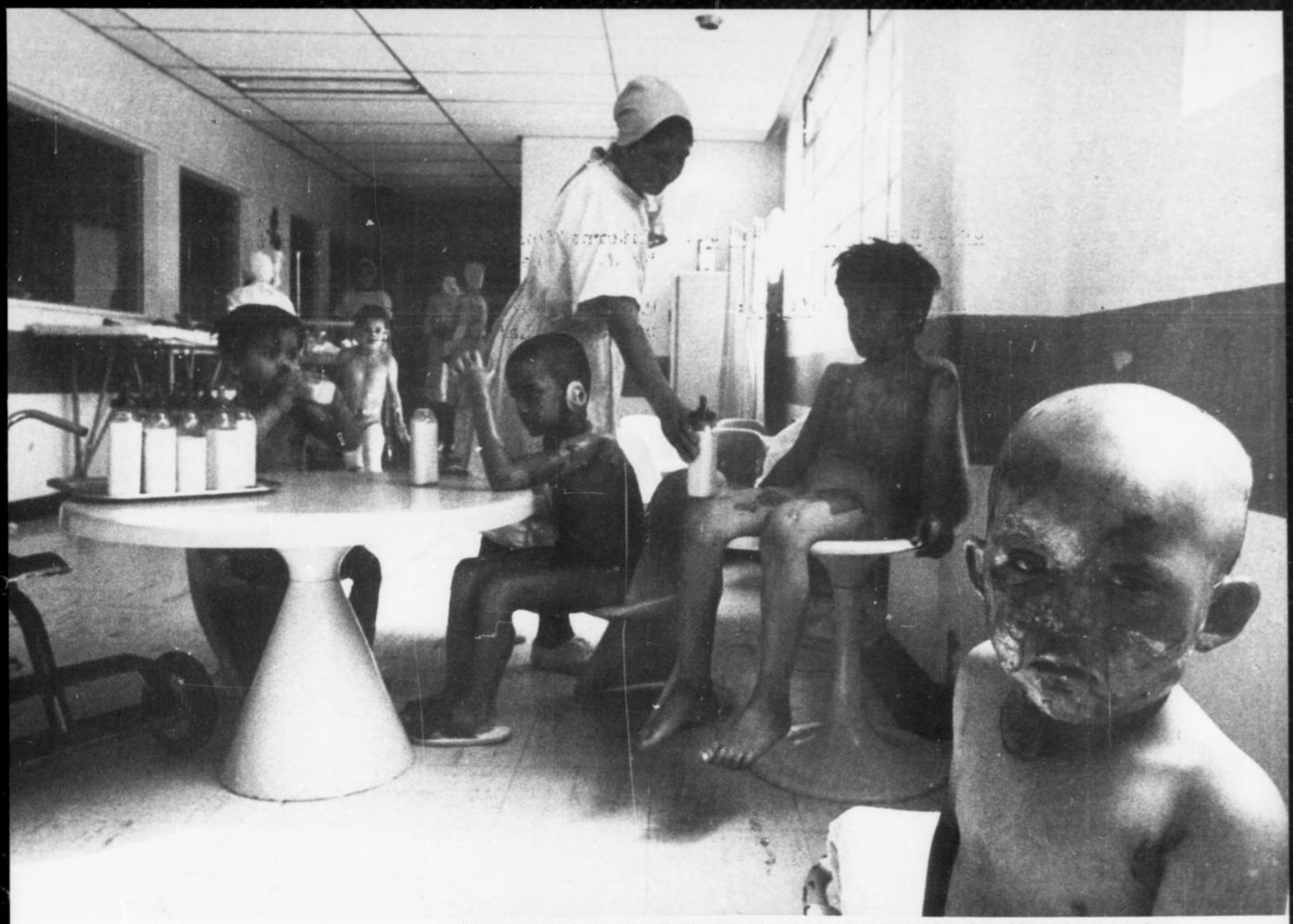
In the developing countries children begin their working life in various ways. Those whose families have their own businesses are introduced to work gradually by their parents. In other cases, parents, together with relatives or family friends, often get in touch with possible future employers in order to "place" a child in a job at a later date. Usually the first employers to be approached in this way are those for whom the parents, relatives, friends or neighbours work themselves.

In some countries employers recruit village children as unqualified assistants (for example, in a pastry shop or a dairy). Female domestic servants also usually come from rural areas: Often it is they who make contact with the families for whom they are going to work but in other cases their parents hand them over to their future employers so that they can be "adopted" as subordinate members of the household.

In parts of Africa, Latin America, Asia and southern Europe it is not unknown for parents, in return for a small loan or payment in cash or in kind, to hand over their children at the age of eight or nine years, to an employer for whom they will work as farm labourers or shepherd boys. (Needless to say, this practice is a flagrant breach of the law.) In this way many needy parents forgo the custody of their children and the exercise of parental authority. There have been reports that in south and south-east Asia some employers take possession of children, against their will, and exploit them ruthlessly.

When a child is dependent on the employer in this way, it is usually the employer himself who fixes the child's general conditions of work, arbitrarily and unilaterally. As a result the treatment meted out to these young workers varies widely, and reflects the employer's character and mood, as well as local customs. Thus the working child may be harshly treated, being

Photo International Labour Office, J.P. Laffont © Sygma, Paris



Child workers are more liable than grown-ups to occupational accidents because they lack experience in handling tools and machinery which are normally designed for use by adults. Since in many cases they are working illegally, they benefit from no form of social protection. Accidents often occur when the children are tired and their concentration diminishes. Above, itinerant petrol-sellers being treated in hospital for burns received during their work.

subject to corporal punishment, abuses of all kinds, humiliation and frustration. The possibilities for exploitation are, in practice, unlimited. Other employers may be paternalistic, protective and generous. Between these two extremes the general tendency is for the child to be treated rather badly since, as we have seen, he has no way of defending himself.

The apprenticeship system also gives rise to abuses. Many children who are declared by their employers to be apprentices receive a negligible amount of training. More often than not they are kept busy running errands or doing hard, unpleasant jobs which often have little connexion with the trade they are supposed to be learning; or else they are treated as servants and receive little or no remuneration. The lucky ones, however, do serve some sort of apprenticeship, despite the poor conditions under which they work.

In spite of these bad working conditions, many child workers seem to be satisfied with the pay and benefits they receive, with their hours of work, with their working environment and with the attitude of the employer and older fellow-workers, as well as with the treatment they receive. The reasons for their job satisfaction probably lie in the low level of their expectations and in the fact that they are earning a little money and are not unemployed.

It is in urban areas, and especially in manufacturing industry, that child workers are treated the worst, exploited the most and undergo the greatest privations. They often have to work in very bad conditions, exposed to the elements or, indoors, in a restricted space in cramped premises which are stiflingly hot, badly lit, badly ventilated, noisy, unhealthy and damp. In these unhygienic surroundings, in an atmosphere contaminated with dust or gases, they are crammed together with other workers, without adequate means of security, and without adequate toilet facilities. It is not unusual for them to have to lift and carry heavy loads, in violation of the principles and norms laid down by the ILO.

The number of hours worked by children each day varies considerably. They may for example, work for part of every working day, or they may work eight hours a day for six days a week. Since, as we have seen, the general conditions of work are usually fixed arbitrarily by the employer, all kinds of abuses occur: working days of ten, twelve or fourteen hours for six or sometimes seven days a week, that is to say far beyond what the child can tolerate either physically or mentally. Sometimes they do not have a fixed timetable—they stay in the shop or café where they work until the last customer has left.

For both self-employed and wage-earning children the working week seems generally to be extremely long. In many sectors the children work six or seven days a week, and it is common knowledge that girls in domestic service usually work very long hours, since they must be available when their employers need them, almost on a permanent basis.

In many cases young wage earners do not enjoy the annual paid holidays that are laid down by law for adult workers doing the same job. Nor do young people working at home enjoy annual paid holidays.

In the less developed regions especially, children who work in the family business usually receive no payment for their work, since the family income is considered to be one indivisible whole. This is equally true when the family does farm work for a third party: the children take part in the work and

the head of the family receives the total earnings.

When the child is a wage-earner, his wages are usually derisory in comparison to the value of the work he does, and are in any case much lower—a half or a third or maybe even less—than those received by an adult doing the same job. Some children, supposedly apprentices, get hardly any training but work sometimes for years, without receiving any pay.

Even in countries where the legal age for admission to employment is twelve years, young people of that age are often not paid the legal minimum salary. When they work overtime they are generally paid at the normal rate (which is already unfairly reduced). When the child does not work directly for the employer but with an adult worker, the latter usually pays the child only a fraction of what he has earned.

In some kinds of commercial and industrial undertakings it is customary for part of the wages to be paid in cash and part in kind. In commercial farming, children sometimes merely receive board and lodging; if paid, their wages are often extremely low. For many parents the fact that a child is housed and fed outside the home takes some pressure off the family budget, even though the child contributes nothing to it.

The self-employed child who has an accident or contracts a disease of occupational origin has no form of social protection. If the child is a wage earner he is not usually protected either, since in the vast majority of cases he is working illegally, as we have seen. If he is the victim of an occupational accident or disease, he and his parents must be prepared for terrible consequences. For obvious reasons, official statistics reveal only a very small proportion of the occupational accidents and diseases that affect young people.

Agriculture is one of the most hazardous sectors where the physical safety and health of workers are concerned. There are a number of reasons for this: the dangers involved in using modern machinery; prolonged exposure to heat, sunlight, dust, wind and rain; the almost constant physical effort that agricultural work demands; contact with various chemical products, such as fertilisers and pesticides, whose long-term effects on man may be completely unknown and for the majority of which, in cases of poisoning, no specific antidotes exist. Children are particularly at risk from endemic and parasitic diseases, diseases of the respiratory tract, and dermatosis, and are often the victims of fatal accidents.

In industry child workers face greater risks than adults, because children lack experience in handling tools, because their powers of concentration are less than those of adults, and because of shortages of security and prevention equipment such as masks and special gloves. For example, in glassworks children suffer greatly from the suffocating heat and run the risk amongst others, of sustaining cuts and burns. Children employed in carpet manufacturing breathe in wool dust throughout the working day, and this penetrates deep into their lungs.

It should also be borne in mind that, as machinery, tools and workplaces in general are designed for use by adults rather than by children, they are a further potential source of more or less serious accidents, and call for increased effort by the child as well as causing problems of adaptation.

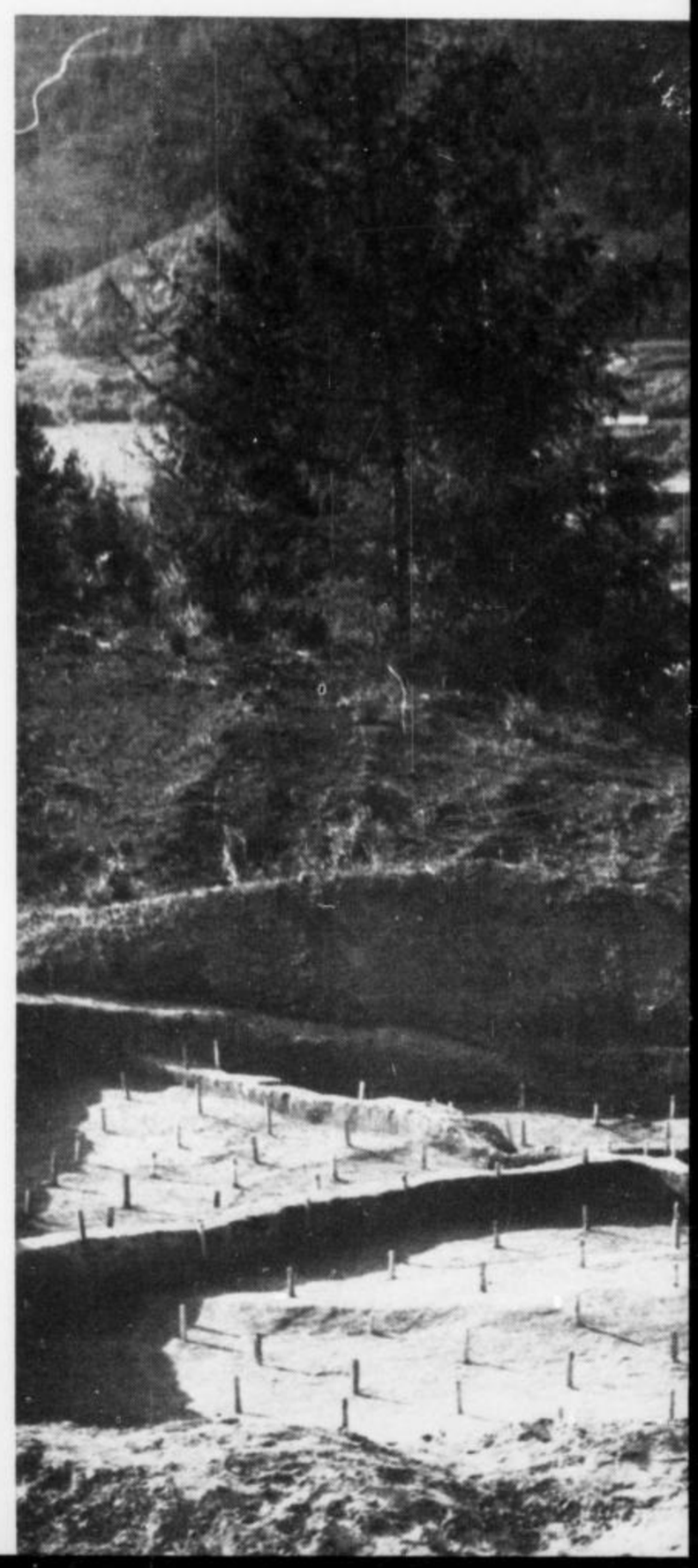
Although children working in the building industry are usually employed to do light work, they are nonetheless exposed to a wide variety of potential accidents and other hazards such as falls, injuries, and the effects of exposure to bad weather. Accidents are common in this sector and are more likely to happen to children because of their immaturity and lack of concentration.

In the less developed regions the provision of schooling is meeting a number of serious problems. There is a severe shortage of facilities, particularly in rural areas, where schools are few and far between. Because of the shortage of capacity most schools are used by two or more sets of pupils. Consequently, even if all children of school age were allowed or able to attend school for the full period of compulsory schooling, they could not do so because there would be no school for them to go to.

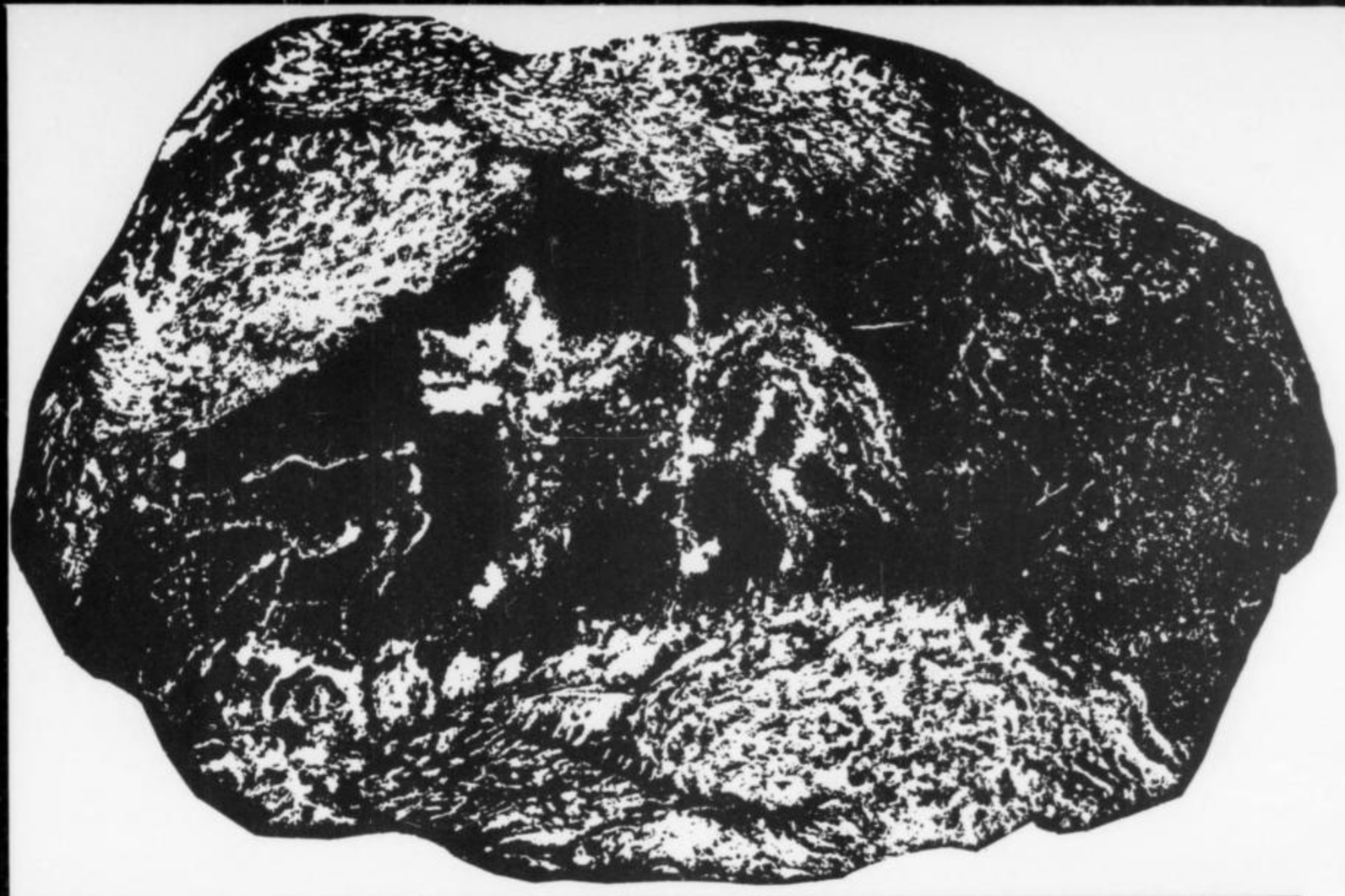
Thus, despite the tremendous efforts being made by the Third World countries to make schooling available to all, the idea of universal compulsory education is still very far from being a reality. There are still vast numbers of persons who are either illiterate or semi-literate—not only children but adults as well.

The exploitation of children is found for the most part in those societies which are in the throes of modernization or in modern societies where marginal sectors continue to exist. It is a consequence of several important social phenomena and is one of the factors in a complex situation comprising the economic system, the way in which society is organized, and traditional ways of thinking. The solution to the problem lies in the orderly, progressive development of society rather than in the adoption of *ad hoc* measures; ultimately it lies in a modification of the three factors mentioned above. This modification cannot be imposed from outside, and it cannot be achieved without a wider awareness of the nature and extent of the problem. The gradual elimination of child labour is a large-scale and long-term goal which will not be attained in isolation from other social changes but as an integral part of them. ■

This article is based on Children at Work *(edited by Elias Mendelievich), a book prepared by the International Labour Office as part of its contribution to the International Year of the Child.* Children at Work *was compiled on the basis of research carried out by the ILO in Geneva and by independent investigators in some fifteen countries.*



Measuring 8.5 by 5.5 cm., this remarkable neopalaeolithic carving found at Malaia Syia recounts the story of how night first came upon the earth (see article below). The outer outline, in the form of a mammoth facing left, represents the world. Inside can be seen the outline of a horse's head (darker part of photo), also facing left, within which a wolf-like beast is depicted about to spring upon and devour a deer. Below, the site of Malaia Syia.



Stone Age myth-sculptors of Siberia

by Vitali E. Laritchev

Photos G. Kashin and V. Laritchev © Institute of History, Philology and Philosophy of the Siberian branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Novosibirsk

WITH its snow-covered plains, its mountains and glaciers, its impenetrable, bear-infested *taiga* forests and bitterly cold winters, Siberia is still widely regarded in some parts of the world as an inhospitable region where life is difficult for man, even when equipped with all the resources of modern civilization. Yet, for over a century, geologists and anthropologists have been examining the intriguing possibility that an area of south central Siberia was the site of the earliest human settlements of northern Eurasia.

During the 1870s, Russian scientists discovered in Siberia several sites of an ancient culture. Following these discoveries French anthropologists advanced the hypothesis that during the palaeolithic era Europe was peopled by migrants originating from Siberia. But in view of the area's reputedly impossible climate this hypothesis was considered improbable and by the 1920s opinion seemed to favour the diametrically opposite view that during the Ice Age a more advanced culture was introduced by migrants moving northwards from the European Mediterranean area to Siberia where they encountered "backward savages".

During the 1930s, a site dating back 24,000 years was discovered at Malta, near Lake Baikal, but it yielded no conclusive proof of an ancient indigenous culture and the "migrants from the south" theory remained unshaken.

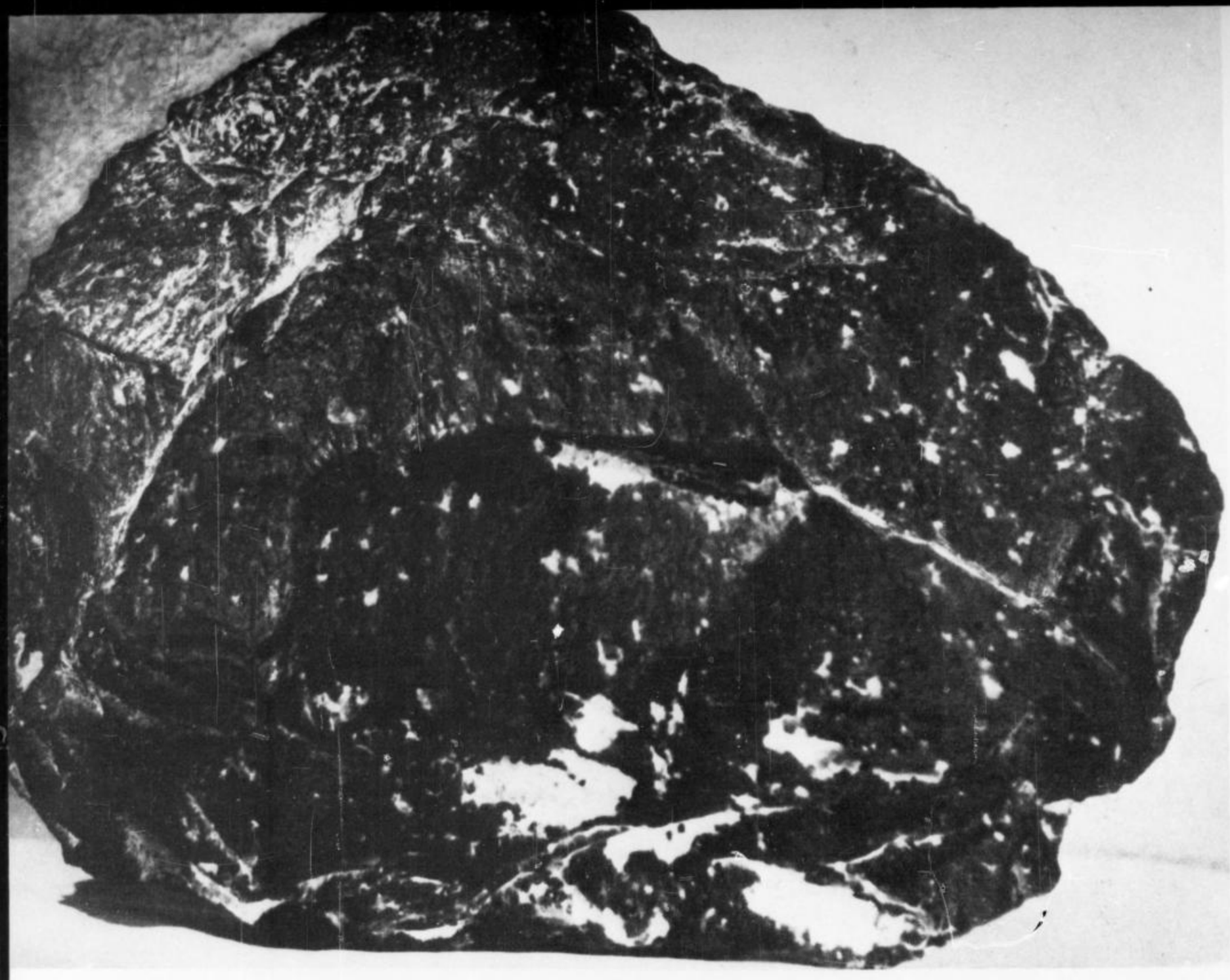
In 1975, however, archaeologists began work on the site of a settlement at Malaia Syia, on the banks of the river Bely Iouss in central Siberia in a valley high up in the Kuznecki Alatau mountains between Novosibirsk and Abakan. Radiocarbon dating of their finds indicated that the settlement dated back 34,500 ($\pm$450) years.

The men who settled at Malaia Syia chose their site well, for the valleys of the Kuznecki Alatau mountains compare in beauty with those of the Swiss Alps. Remains of bones recovered from the site indicate that the valley was the habitat of a surprisingly varied and abundant animal life—reindeer, wild sheep, ibex, antelope, bison, deer, mammoth, rhinoceros, wild horses, hares and foxes.

Relieved by this abundance of game of the necessity to travel in search of food, the men of Malaia Syia built themselves permanent dwellings, creating a veritable township covering an area of several thousand square metres in which a comparatively developed and complex culture evolved.

The artistic gifts of the men of Malaia Syia were revealed by the discovery of traces of paints of many colours—red, yellow, crimson, black, green, violet—made with haematite and magnetite iron ores and malachite copper ore powdered and mixed with animal fat.

The archaeologists also discovered stone sculptures including finely-carved pebbles and rock reliefs of mammoths, rhinoceros, horses, deer, bulls, wolves and lions, the standard subjects of palaeolithic carvings. But in addition to these there are carvings of eagles and turtles which differ profoundly both in shape and composition from those

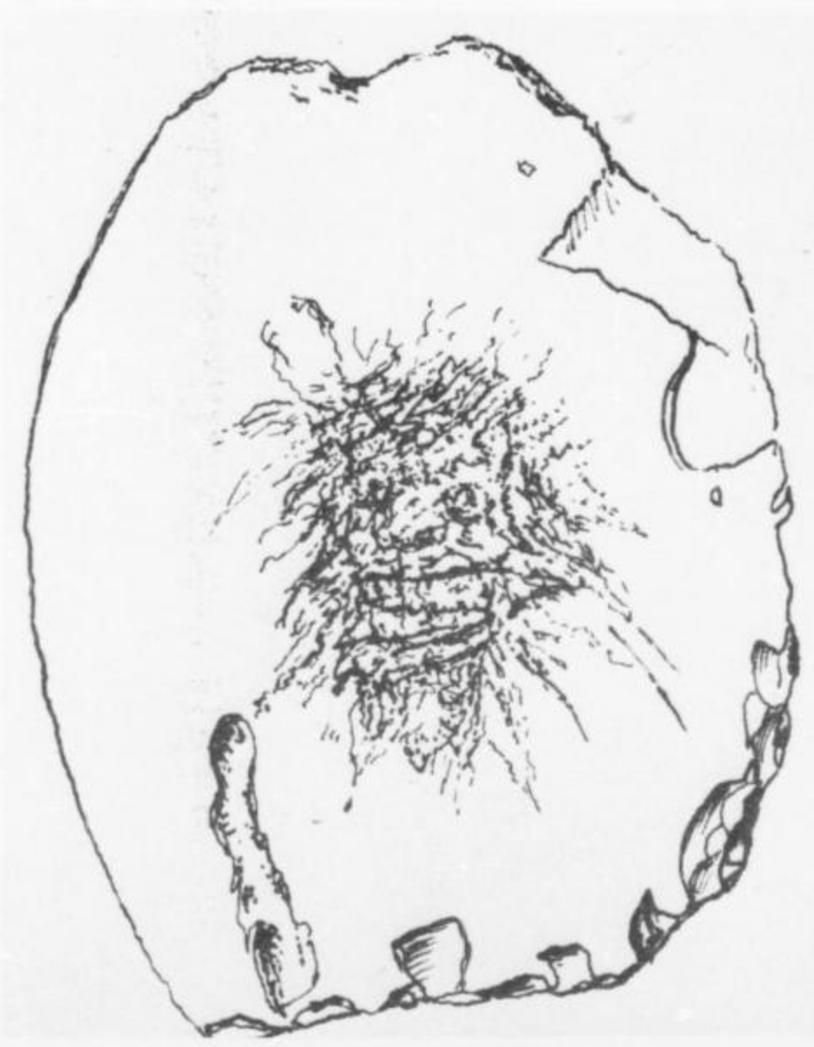


of the very oldest European art. Their originality argues conclusively in favour of an art with local roots, independent of all borrowing or forms brought in by migrants from outside.

Some of these carvings enable us to trace back to earliest palaeolithic times stories still remembered in the mythology of the peoples of northern Asia. The Evenki people of Siberia used to recount the story of how Hêgelên the Deer-Sun was devoured by the beast Maïn, illustrated in the photo on the brevious page of a cosmogonic stone carving from Malaia Syia.

The oldest version of this myth recounts that Hêgelên the Deer (the sun) strayed one day from the protection of the "heavenly *taiga*" (forest) and climbed to the top of a mountain. The beast Maïn immediately set off in pursuit tracking Hêgelên all day across the vault of the heavens from east to west until, at evening, he caught and devoured her. This, say the Evenkis, is how night came to the world. But one of Hêgelên's fawns escaped from Maïn and the next morning climbed again to the top of a mountain and Maïn's eternal pursuit began again.

Reflected in the art of Malaia Syia are cosmogonic or creation myths that are older and more profound than the fable of the rising and the setting of the sun. According to ancient Siberian myth, the universe originally consisted of the primordial waters.



Drawings V. Jalkovsky

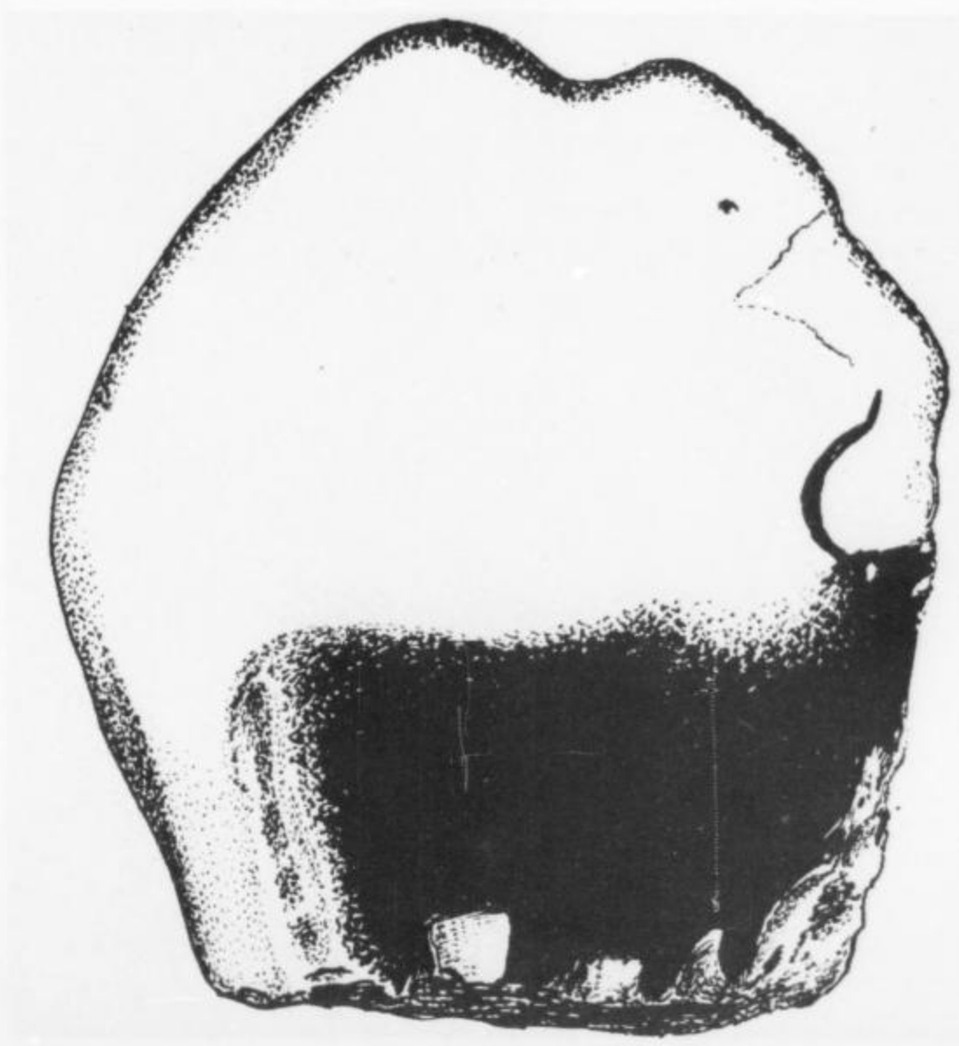
Photos G. Kashin .© Institute of History, Philology and Philosophy of the Siberian branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Novosibirsk

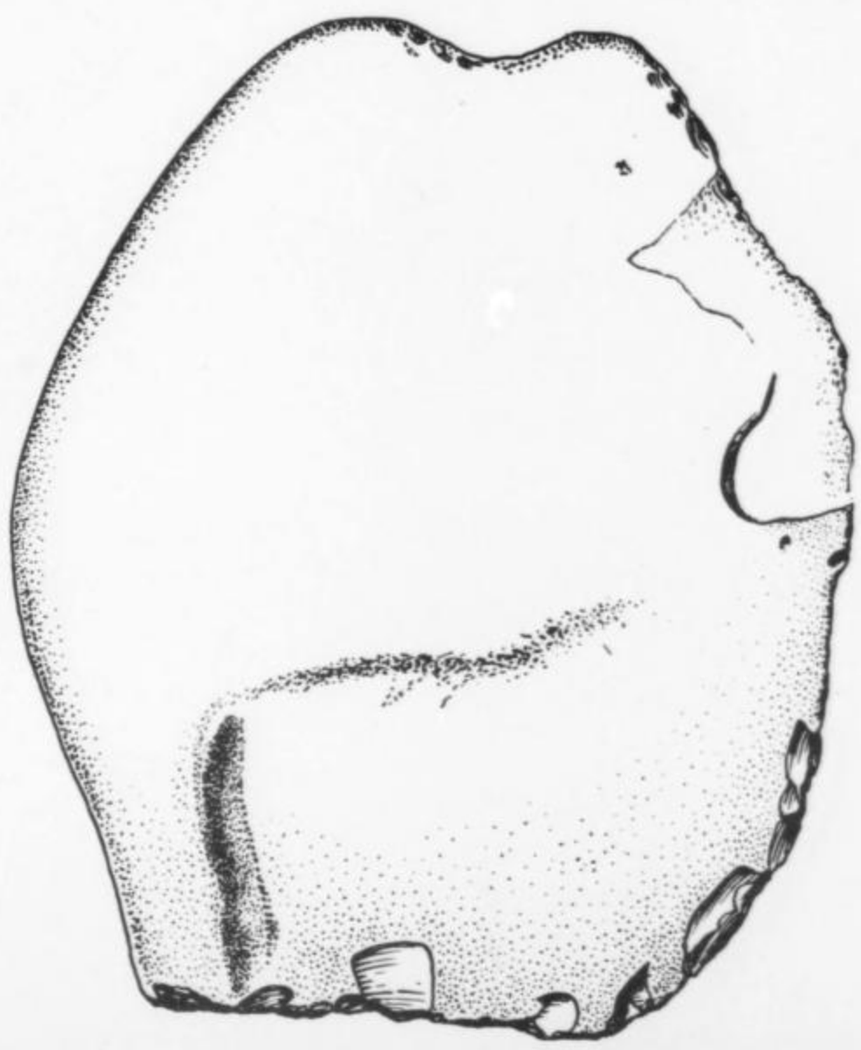
The mammoth Shêli entered this ocean and from its depths began to dig up the earth with his tusks. But his enemy, the dragon Diabdar, flattened out the earth dug up by Shêli and the world he had created disappeared beneath the waters. The illustrations above of a carving found at Malaia Syia depict the furious struggle that ensued between the mammoth Shêli and the turtle, the aquatic equivalent of the dragon. The mammoth's foreleg crushes down on the neck of the turtle from whose gaping mouth issues a roar of pain and terror.

The structure of the world and the emergence of man and fire are depicted in another carving from Malaia Syia (illustrations below). The mammoth, representing the earth and the world father, is locked in a sexual embrace with the bison, representing the sky and the world mother. Emerging between them is an anthropomorphic lion, representing the sun, the atmosphere, fire and man, who will eventually bring about a rupture between the world parents, i.e. the earth and the sky.

The discovery of these cultural relics of the art of Malaia Syia, dating back as it does some 34,000 years, shortly after the first emergence of *homo sapiens,* suggests that the intellectual capacity of our earliest ancestors has long been seriously underestimated by archaeologist and palaeontologist alike. ■

VITALI LARITCHEV, *of the USSR, is an archaeologist and orientalist who specializes in the Stone Age period of north, central and east Asia. Since 1971 he has been head of the Oriental History and Archaeology Section of the Institute of History, Philology and Philosophy of the Siberian branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The author of a number of monographs and scientific works, he has also published several books for the layman on famous scientists and great inventions.*





Jean Piaget, *who died in Geneva on 16 September at the age of eighty-four, was a pioneer investigator of the origin and development of children's intellectual faculties and is widely regarded as one of the foremost scientific thinkers of the century.*

As co-director of the Institut Jean-Jacques Rousseau in Geneva and a professor of psychology at the universities of Geneva and Paris, he developed an approach to logical and mathematical conceptualization in children which has greatly influenced modern educators. At the heart of Piaget's complex theories is the claim that everyone passes through four logically distinct periods of development, with each period revealing a sequence from simpler to more complex levels of organization. A famous example of this is the "conservation problem" : a five-year-old who watches water poured from a wide container to a long, thin container will say that there is more water in the latter than there was in the former. He is convinced that because the water level is higher in the thin container there is more of it than there was in the wide container. Not until a later stage will the child grasp that changing the shape of a quantity does not change the amount.

Dr. Piaget was actively associated with Unesco from its inception, serving notably as head of the Swiss National Commission to Unesco, as a member of the Organization's Executive Board, as director of the International Bureau of Education, and (for a short time) as Assistant Director-General for Education.

He gradually constructed his theories through a long series of brilliant experiments which began in the 1920s and which continued until his last years when he was working closely with specialists in various scientific disciplines (mathematics, logic, etc.) at the Geneva Centre for the Study of Genetic Epistemology which he had founded in 1955. Many witnesses have described the remarkable empathy with children which helped Piaget to enter their world and make the meticulous observations on which his theories were based. On the following pages we publish a short extract from a work he wrote as a young man, hoping that it will communicate something of the zest and intellectual ingenuity with which Piaget examined the problems of psychology and human knowledge. Here he uses the children's game of marbles as a starting point for an enquiry into the way in which children make moral judgments.

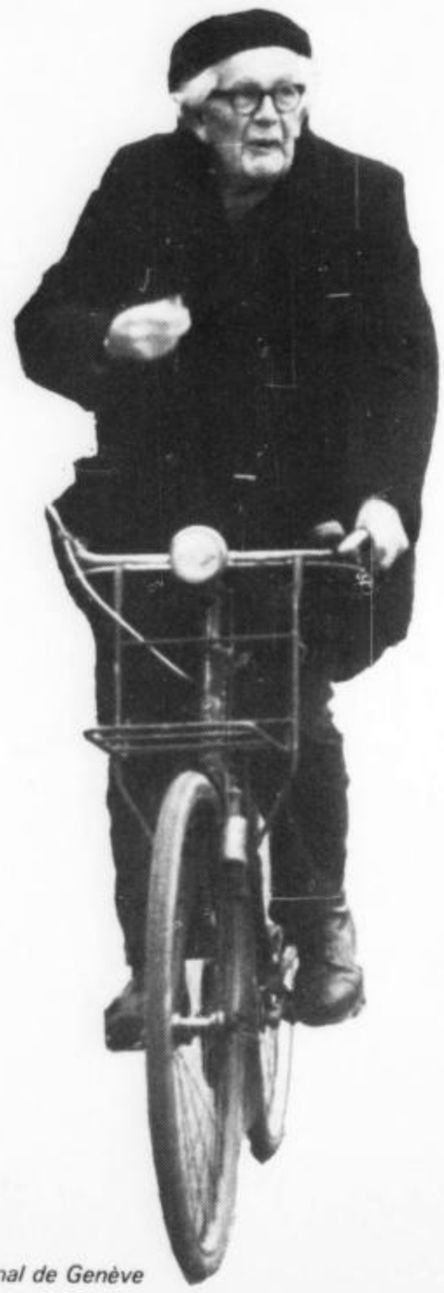


Photo University of Geneva © *Journal de Genève*

The psychology of marbles

Photo J. S. Bach/Unesco

by Jean Piaget

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CHILDREN'S games constitute the most admirable social institutions. The game of marbles, for instance, contains an extremely complex system of rules, that is to say, a code of laws, a jurisprudence of its own. Only the psychologist, whose profession obliges him to become familiar with this instance of common law, and to get at the implicit morality underlying it, is in a position to estimate the extraordinary wealth of these rules by the difficulty he experiences in mastering their details.

With regard to game rules there are two phenomena which it is particularly easy to study: first the *practice* of rules, *i.e.* the way in which children of different ages effectively apply rules; second the *consciousness* of rules, *i.e.* the idea which children of different ages form of the character of these game rules, whether of something obligatory and sacred or of something subject to their own choice.

The relations which exist between the practice and the consciousness of rules are those which will best enable us to define the psychological nature of moral realities.

The rules [of the game of marbles as it is played in Geneva and Neuchâtel, in the districts where we conducted our work] constitute a well-marked social reality, "independent of individuals" and transmitted, like a language, from one generation to another. This set of customs is obviously more or less plastic. But individual innovations, just as in the case of language, succeed only when they meet a general need and when they are collectively sanctioned as being in conformity with the "spirit of the game".

But while fully recognizing the interest attaching to this sociological aspect of the problem, it was from a different standpoint that we raised the questions which we are now going to study. We simply asked ourselves (1) how the individuals adapt themselves to these rules, *i.e.* how they observe rules at each age and level of mental

development; (2) how far they become conscious of rules, in other words, what types of obligation result (always according to the children's ages) from the increasing ascendancy exercised by rules.

The interrogatory is therefore easy to carry out. During the first part, it is sufficient to ask the children (we questioned about 20 boys ranging from 4 to 12-13) how one plays marbles. The experimenter speaks more or less as follows. "Here are some marbles." (The marbles are placed on a large baize-covered table beside a piece of chalk.) "You must show me how to play. When I was little I used to play a lot, but now I've quite forgotten how to. I'd like to play again. Let's play together. You'll teach me the rules and I'll play with you."

The child then draws a square, takes half the marbles, puts down his "pose", and the game begins. It is important to bear in mind all possible contingencies of the game and to ask the child about each. This means that you must avoid making any suggestions.

All you need do is to appear completely ignorant, and even to make intentional mistakes so that the child may each time point out clearly what the rule is. Naturally, you must take the whole thing very seriously, all through the game. Then you ask who has won and why, and if everything is not quite clear, you begin a new set.

It is of paramount importance during this first half of the interrogatory to play your part in a simple spirit and to let the child feel a certain superiority at the game (while not omitting to show by an occasional good shot that you are not a complete duffer).

In this way the child is put at his ease, and the information he gives as to how he plays is all the more conclusive. Many of our children became absorbed in the game to the extent of treating me completely as one of them. "You are dished!" cries Ben (10 years) when my marble stops inside the square.

In the case of the little ones, who find difficulty in formulating the rules which they observe in practice, the best way is to make them play in pairs. You begin by playing with one of them in the manner described above, and ask him to tell you all the rules he knows.

Then you make the same request of the second boy (the first being no longer present), and finally you bring the two together and ask them to have a game. This control experiment is not needed for older children, except in doubtful cases.

Then comes the second part of the interrogatory, that, namely, which bears upon the consciousness of rules. You begin by asking the child if he could invent a new rule. He generally does this easily enough, but it is advisable to make sure that it really is a new rule and not one of the many existing variants of which this particular child may already have knowledge.

"I want a rule that is only by you, a rule that you've made up yourself and that no one else knows—the rule of N— (the child's name)."

Once the new rule has been formulated, you ask the child whether it could give rise to a new game: "Would it be all right to play like that with your pals? Would they want to play that way? etc."

The child either agrees to the suggestion or disputes it. If he agrees, you immediately ask him whether the new rule is a "fair" rule, a "real" rule, one "like the others", and try to get at the various motives that enter into the answers.

If, on the other hand, the child disagrees with all this, you ask him whether the new rule could not by being generalized become a real rule. "When you are a big boy, suppose you tell your new rule to a lot of children, then perhaps they'll all play that way and everyone will forget the old rules. Then which rule will be fairest—yours that everyone knows, or the old one that everyone has forgotten?"

The formula can naturally be altered in accordance with the turn which the conversation is taking, but the main point is to find out whether one may legitimately alter rules and whether a rule is fair or just because it conforms to general usage (even newly introduced), or because it is endowed with an intrinsic and eternal value.

Having cleared up this point it will be easy enough to ask the two following questions. (1) Have people always played as they do today: "Did your daddy play this way when he was little, and your grand-dad, and children in the time of William Tell, Noah, and Adam and Eve, etc., did they all play the way you showed me, or differently? (2) What is the origin of rules: Are they invented by children or laid down by parents and grown-ups in general?

Sometimes it is best to begin by these last two questions before asking whether rules

'I am an anxious man who can only find solace in work'

"People have often asked me how I found the time to write so much, in addition to my university work and my international duties... Fundamentally I am an anxious person who can only find solace in work. It is true that I am sociable and that I enjoy teaching and taking part in meetings of all kinds, but I feel a pressing need for solitude and contact with nature. After a morning spent with other people, I start each afternoon with a walk during which I calmly collect my ideas together and coordinate them, before returning to my work-table at home in the country. As soon as the holidays arrive, I take refuge in the mountains in the wild parts of the Valais and I write for weeks at a time on improvised tables after pleasant walks. This dissociation in me between the social creature and the man of nature (in whom dionysiac excitement achieves fulfilment in intellectual activity) has enabled me to overcome a permanent undercurrent of anxiety and to transform it into a need for work."

Extract from Jean Piaget's Autobiography,
Revue Européenne des Sciences Sociales,
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can be changed; this avoids perseveration, or rather reverses its direction, and so facilitates the interpretation of the answers. All this part of the interrogatory, moreover, requires extremely delicate handling; suggestion is always ready to occur, and the danger of romancing is ever present.

But it goes without saying that the main thing is simply to grasp the child's mental orientation. Does he believe in the mystical virtue of rules or in their finality? Does he subscribe to a heteronomy of divine law, or is he conscious of his own autonomy? This is the only question that interests us. The child has naturally got no ready-made beliefs on the origin and endurance of the rules of his games; the ideas which he invents then and there are only indices of his fundamental attitude, and this must be steadily borne in mind throughout the whole of the interrogatory.

The results which we obtained from this double interrogatory are roughly as follows:

From the point of view of the practice or application of rules four successive stages can be distinguished.

A first stage of a purely *motor* and *individual* character, during which the child handles the marbles at the dictation of his desires and motor habits. This leads to the formation of more or less ritualized schemas, but since play is still purely individual, one can only talk of motor rules and not of truly collective rules.

The second may be called *egocentric* for the following reasons. This stage begins at the moment when the child receives from outside the example of codified rules, that is to say, some time between the ages of two and five.

But though the child imitates this example, he continues to play either by himself without bothering to find play-fellows, or with others, but without trying to win, and therefore without attempting to unify the different ways of playing.

In other words, children of this stage, even when they are playing together, play each one "on his own" (everyone can win at once) and without regard for any codification of rules. This dual character, combining imitation of others with a purely individual use of the examples received, we have designated by the term Egocentrism.

A third stage appears between 7 and 8, which we shall call the stage of incipient *co-*

operation. Each player now tries to win, and all, therefore, begin to concern themselves with the question of mutual control and of unification of the rules. But while a certain agreement may be reached in the course of one game, ideas about the rules in general are still rather vague.

In other words, children of 7-8, who belong to the same class at school and are therefore constantly playing with each other, give, when they are questioned separately, disparate and often entirely contradictory accounts of the rules observed in playing marbles.

Finally, between the years of 11 and 12, appears a fourth stage, which is that of the *codification of rules*. Not only is every detail of procedure in the game fixed, but the actual code of rules to be observed is known to the whole society. There is remarkable concordance in the information given by children of 10-12 belonging to the same class at school, when they are questioned on the rules of the game and their possible variations.

These stages must of course be taken only for what they are worth. It is convenient for the purposes of exposition to divide the children up in age-classes or stages, but the facts present themselves as a continuum which cannot be cut up into sections.

This continuum, moreover, is not linear in character, and its general direction can only be observed by schematizing the material and ignoring the minor oscillations which render it infinitely complicated in detail. So that ten children chosen at random will perhaps not give the impression of a steady advance which gradually emerges from the interrogatory put to the hundred odd subjects examined by us at Geneva and Neuchâtel.

If, now, we turn to the consciousness of rules we shall find a progression that is even more elusive in detail, but no less clearly marked if taken on a big scale. We may express this by saying that the progression runs through three stages, of which the second begins during the egocentric stage and ends towards the middle of the stage of co-operation (9-10), and of which the third covers the remainder of this co-operating stage and the whole of the stage marked by the codification of rules.

During the first stage rules are not yet coercive in character, either because they are purely motor, or else (at the beginning of the egocentric stage) because they are received, as it were, unconsciously, and as interesting examples rather than as obligatory realities.

During the second stage (apogee of egocentric and first half of co-operating stage) rules are regarded as sacred and untouchable, emanating from adults and lasting forever. Every suggested alteration strikes the child as a transgression.

Finally, during the third stage, a rule is looked upon as a law due to mutual consent, which you must respect if you want to be loyal but which it is permissible to alter on the condition of enlisting general opinion on your side.

The correlation between the three stages in the development of the consciousness of rules and the four stages relating to their practical observance is of course only a statistical correlation and therefore very crude. But broadly speaking the relation seems to us indisputable.

The collective rule is at first something external to the individual and consequently sacred to him; then, as he gradually makes it his own, it comes to that extent to be felt as the free product of mutual agreement and an autonomous conscience. And with regard to practical use, it is only natural that a mystical respect for laws should be accompanied by a rudimentary knowledge and application of their contents, while a rational and well-founded respect is accompanied by an effective application of each rule in detail.

There would therefore seem to be two types of respect for rules corresponding to two types of social behaviour. This conclusion deserves to be closely examined, for if it holds good, it should be of the greatest value to the analysis of child morality. One can see at once all that it suggests in regard to the relation between child and adult.

Take the insubordination of the child towards its parents and teachers, joined to its sincere respect for the commands it receives and its extraordinary mental docility. Could not this be due to that complex of attitudes which we can observe during the egocentric stage and which combines so paradoxically an unstable practice of the law with a mystical attitude towards it?

And will not co-operation between adult and child, in so far as it can be realized and in so far as it is facilitated by co-operation between children themselves, supply the key to the interiorization of commands and to the autonomy of the moral consciousness?

Let us therefore not be afraid of devoting a certain amount of time to the patient analysis of the rules of a game.

■ **Jean Piaget**

Piaget maintained that numerical evaluation in the child's mind is for a long time linked with the way in which objects are arranged spatially. In one experiment a child at a certain stage of development is shown two rows of beads each of the same length and each containing the same number of beads. If the beads in one row are spaced out further, the child concludes that the longer row contains more beads. Photo shows an experiment on numerical correspondence with a seven-year-old child.

Photo © University of Geneva

This article has been adapted from "The Rules of the Game", a study carried out by Jean Piaget (with the collaboration of Mme V.-J. Piaget and Messrs M. Lambercier and L. Martinez) which constitutes the first chapter of The Moral Judgment of the Child, *published in 1932 by Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co. Ltd, London.*

Letters to the editor

MOBRAL: THE ACHIEVEMENT BEHIND THE STATISTICS

Sir,

I have recently read the June issue of the *Unesco Courier*, and on pages 4 to 9 I came across an interesting analysis of the illiteracy problem in the world and some of the efforts towards its eradication being made by several countries, often with Unesco's support. The article's title is "Literacy—a right denied to 800 million", and it paints a rather harsh, but truthful, picture of the world problem. To illustrate these remarks a graph on page 6-7 shows the distribution of illiteracy in the world, and attributes to Latin America the total of 44 million. Out of the latter, 18 million are said to belong to Brazil and this is precisely the reason for this letter. Brazil is presented as still having 18 million adult illiterates and these figures do not coincide with MOBRAL's statistics.

As you are well aware, the MOBRAL Foundation has been dealing with this matter in Brazil since 1970, when this country still had 18 million illiterate adults. In ten years, however—and this can be proved by impartial documents, some of which have been published or sponsored by Unesco—this figure has been reduced to 7.5 million which brings the adult illiteracy rate in Brazil down to 11 per cent. According to Unesco's standards this percentage is considered almost satisfactory. To corroborate this assertion, on the last page of the same issue, Mr Ralph C. Staiger, from the International Reading Association, mentions MOBRAL's efforts, and quotes the figure of 13 million as the number of individuals made literate in the period 1970-80. It seems clear that the figure of 18 million shown in the graph is incorrect unless there is a footnote explaining that it corresponds to the year of 1970, when MOBRAL was just initiating its operations.

Thanking you for having referred to MOBRAL in your magazine.

Arlindo Lopes Corrêa
President of Mobral,
Brazil

The numbers of illiterates over the age of 15 given in the diagram on pages 6 and 7 of the June issue of the Unesco Courier are, as the caption indicated, estimates by the Unesco Office of Statistics. The projections for Brazil are based on returns from the census taken in 1970 and a new census which has just been completed will enable the situation to be clarified. Of course, projections such as these can be considerably modified by mass literacy campaigns. However, it should be pointed out that if the Unesco estimate proves to be correct, it nevertheless represents an enormous achievement on the part of MOBRAL (The Brazilian Literacy Movement) and all those involved in the fight against illiteracy in Brazil. For in the ten years between 1970 and 1980 the Brazilian population over the age of 15 increased by a staggering 35 per cent, from 54,585,200 to 73,988,900. During the same period Unesco statistics show that the absolute number of adult illiterates in Brazil fell by 292,100 and the percentage of illiteracy fell from 33.8 per cent to 24.5 per cent, a truly remarkable achievement by any standard. Editor.

THE VICTIMS OF AUSCHWITZ

Sir,

Many of your readers must, like me, have been concerned that the reference to Auschwitz-Birkenau in George Fradier's article "Wonders of the World", in the August 1980 issue of the *Unesco Courier*, was incomplete.

The article failed to mention that of the four million men, women and children assassinated at Auschwitz, the great majority were Jewish. This was surely a major omission.

Serge C[illegible]jgenbaum
World Jewish Congress,
Paris

Millions of people, the majority of them Jews, were deported to and died in the three concentration camps established by the Nazis at Auschwitz-Birkenau (the Polish localities of Oswiecim-Brzenzinka). As the author of our article pointed out, the name of Auschwitz will be forever associated in the minds of men with the horror of this outrageous crime against humanity. Editor.

MAINTAIN A WORTHY LEVEL

Sir,

With articles by specialists from all over the world, clearly expressed ideas, subjects of universal interest, and the variety of styles and high moral tone of the authors from many different countries who write in it, the *Unesco Courier* is a magazine worthy of the Organization from which it emanates.

I would not, however, have written to you in this vein had it not been for the letter, published in your September 1980 issue, from thirteen-year-old Laurent Cavelier of Fécamp. He suggests that you should lower the level of the vocabulary employed and reduce the language of the articles to a simpler, more basic form suited to his thirteen years and, indeed, to older persons who have not progressed beyond that stage. This, of course, would mean either that you would no longer be able to call upon the best writers, or that you would have to ask them to write in the language of their youth.

The letter does, of course, express an interesting point of view. What worries me, however, is that in asking for readers' comments on it you put in question the whole tone and standing of the *Unesco Courier*, whereas other no less interesting letters are published without comment.

Emmanuel Mouchel
Saint-Denis,
France

KEEP IT SIMPLE FOR THE YOUNG...

Sir,

I read Laurent Cavelier's letter in the September 1980 issue of the *Unesco Courier* with great interest, and in my opinion it deserves careful consideration.

Many young people would agree with Cavelier's criticism that the *Unesco Courier* seems to be addressed to an intellectual élite. In my own case, I had some difficulty in understanding the articles when I first began reading the magazine at the age of sixteen.

I am convinced that a magazine like yours has an important educative role to play and I consider that young people should be its primary target. The use of simpler wording, particularly in scientific texts, seems to me to be indispensable if you are to hold the interest of this group of readers, many of whom show great interest in the magazine.

Béatrice Gretter
Mulhouse,
France

... AND FOR THE OLDER READER...

Sir,

Although I am over sixty years old, I agree entirely with the point of view expressed by Mr. Cavelier in your September 1980 issue, which is just as valid for your older readers as for the younger ones.

Since the aim of the *Unesco Courier* is to make as many people as possible think about world problems, it would be as well not to put off large numbers of them by too academic a presentation.

Nevertheless, it is my hope that, whatever approach you adopt, your action in favour of peace will be successful.

M. Durand
Lamotte Beuvron,
France

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

The December issue of the *Unesco Courier*, featuring eight pages in full colour, will mark the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Pablo Picasso (1881-1973) and will be entirely devoted to the life and work of the great Spanish painter.

Unesco newsroom

UNICEF Greeting Cards

Over 350 million children around the globe lack adequate food supplies, medical care, clean water, and schools. One way of helping to improve this tragic situation is by supporting the work of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). In 1978 UNICEF raised $20,300,000 through the sale of greeting cards, gifts and stationery, and used these much-needed funds to bring food, health services and education to needy children and mothers in over a hundred countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. This year's UNICEF cards and stationery are now available at UNICEF sales points throughout the world. The cards, in standard or mini format, feature over sixty designs donated by artists and museums from many countries. Also available is UNICEF's trilingual (English, French, Spanish) 1981 engagement calendar, lavishly illustrated on the theme of "Festivals and Celebrations". Proceeds from the sale of just one box of cards mean that ten children can be protected from measles, a leading child killer in the developing world. Above, card reproducing a *batik* design by an anonymous Indonesian artist.

20th Anniversary of the U.N. Declaration on Decolonization

December 14, 1980, marks the twentieth anniversary of the adoption by the United Nations General Assembly of the *Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.* The Declaration proclaimed the need to bring colonialism, in all its forms and manifestations, to a speedy and unconditional end. It declared that "the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation". Since the adoption of the Declaration more than seventy million people have emerged from dependent status. At present some three million people still live in non-self-governing territories which are politically dependent on other countries.

Two new Member States

Zimbabwe and the Kingdom of Tonga became members of Unesco on 22 and 29 September respectively. This brings the number of Unesco's Member States to 153.

Photo © Italian Edition, Unesco Courier

Italian educators honour *Unesco Courier*

Tribute was paid to the *Unesco Courier* by Italy's National Centre of Socio-Psychographic Studies at a convention on the audio-visual media and education, held in Venice on 10 and 11 October 1980. At the opening of the convention, attended by representatives of the mass media and teachers in primary, secondary and higher education, a gold plaque was presented to Mme Maria Remiddi (above), who has been Managing Editor of our Italian language edition for the past 16 years. The plaque is inscribed: "For the constant concern shown by the *Unesco Courier* in handling educational, scientific and cultural problems".

BOOKSHELF

RECENT UNESCO BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

■ **The International Yearbook of Education Vol. XXXII 1980,** prepared for the International Bureau of Education by Brian Holmes. 1980. 242 pp. (32 F).

■ **Made to Measure: Children's Books in Developing Countries,** by Anne Pellowski. 1980. 129 pp. (22 F).

■ **The Teaching of Human Rights.** The proceedings of an international congress on the teaching of human rights held in Vienna in September 1978, under Unesco's auspices. 1980. 259 pp. (35 F).

■ **Unesco Handbook for Science Teachers.** A companion volume to the **New Unesco Source Book for Science Teaching** published by Unesco in 1973. 1980. 199 pp. (45 F) Co-published with Heinemann, London.

■ **Environmental Education in the Light of the Tbilisi Conference.** (No. 3 in Unesco's "Education on the Move" series). 1980. 100 pp. (18 F).

■ **New Trends and New Responsibilities for Universities in Latin America.** Published by Unesco and the International Association of Universities. 1980. 96 pp. (22 F).

■ **Communication Policies in Kenya,** by Peter Mwaura. 1980. 95 pp. (20 F).

■ **Science, Technology and Governmental Policy.** A Ministerial Conference for Europe and North America (Minespol II). (No. 44 in Unesco's "Science Policy Studies and Documents" series). 183 pp. (20 F).

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

■ **Environmental Education: Principles, Methods and Applications,** edited by Trilochan S. Bakshi and Zen Naveh. 1980. Plenum Press, New York. 285 pp. ($32.50).

■ **Readings in Physical Anthropology and Archaeology,** edited by David E. Hunter and Philip Whitten. Harper and Row publishers, New York. 346 pp. 1978.

■ **Anawrahta of Burma,** by Khin Myo Chit. A historical novel woven around the story of Anawrahta, king of Burma in the 11th century. 2nd edition 1979. Published by Daw Khin Myo Chit, Rangoon. 217 pp.

■ **Gotama the Indian Prince.** The story of the young Buddha, 77 pp.; **Jeshua in an Occupied Country.** An imaginative reconstruction of the young Jesus's life in Palestine at the time of the Roman occupation, 79 pp.; **Muhammad the Arab Boy.** A description of the Prophet's childhood in 6th-century Arabia, 64 pp. Nos 1, 2 and 3 in the "Boyhood" series on the childhood of the founders of the great world religions, written by Byron Evans and illustrated by Joan Gammans. Published by Stainer and Bell Ltd., 82 High Road, London N2 9PW. (£1.50 each).

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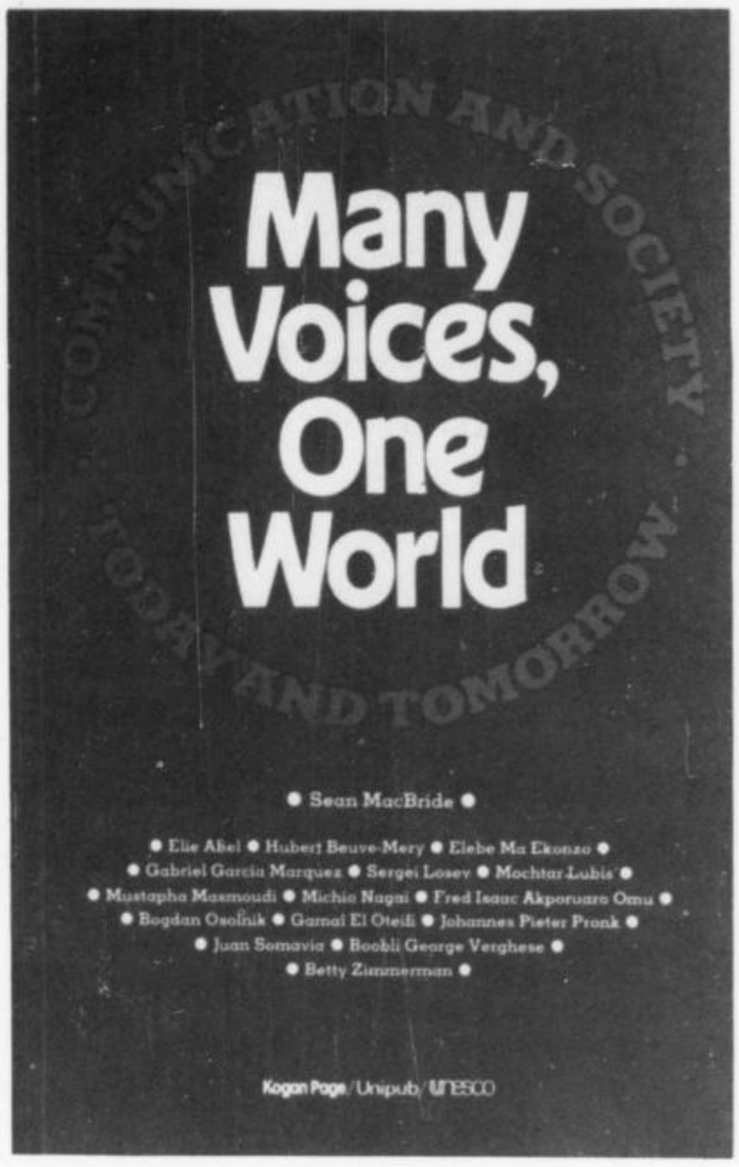
COMMUNICATION AND SOCIETY
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Just published...

In 1977, in fulfilment of a mandate from the Organization's General Conference, Unesco's Director-General appointed an "International Committee for the Study of Communication Problems", under the presidency of Sean MacBride. The Commission's members, from 16 different countries, were asked to examine "the totality of communication problems in modern societies". The publication of **Many Voices, One World** now makes available the full text of their final report.

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52 million child workers

Bowed down under the weight of newly-fired bricks, in a tragic parody of the game of "follow-my-leader", these young Latin-Americans are among the 52 million children under the age of 15 throughout the world who are obliged to work for their living. A recent study by the International Labour Organisation reveals the plight of this vast army of youngsters who are being cheated of their childhood. (See article).